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COMPILED AND EDITED BY

DANIEL BLOOMFIELD

AUTHOR OF "LABOR MAINTENANCE." EDITOR HANDBOOK "EMPLOYMENT MANAGEMENT," ASSOCIATE EDITOR "INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS." BLOOMFIELD AND BLOOMFIELD, BOSTON, CONSULTANTS IN EMPLOYMENT MANAGEMENT AND INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS.

WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY

MEYER BLOOMFIELD

AUTHOR OF "LABOR AND COMPENSATION," "YOUTH, SCHOOL AND VOCATION," "MANAGEMENT AND MEN," ETC. EDITOR, "INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS, BLOOMFIELD'S LABOR DIGEST."

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EXPLANATORY NOTE

This book presents the first collection in one volume of articles on modern industrial movements. It covers the most important printed material which has appeared in periodicals, reports and other important sources not easily accessible. Some subjects such as Socialism, Trade Unions, Compulsory Arbitration of Industrial Disputes, Compulsory Insurance, Minimum Wage, Open vs Closed Shop, Single Tax, are not included in this book as they are fully covered in other Handbooks published by The H. W. Wilson Company.

The aim of the editor and compiler has been to present each subject from all angles so that the reader may have the opportunity of forming his own judgment as to the particular movements discussed. Not only will this handbook, therefore, be of value to students at schools and colleges, but it will also appeal to the business man and the industrial manager, and the workers in industry who want to know in some detail about important movements in industry. We can arrive at the truth best by balancing what authoritative proponents of such movements say, with the expressions of responsible writers who hold contrary points of view.

A large amount of material was gone over before the articles in this volume were selected and the task was difficult because of the rapidly changing status of such movements as Bolshevism, and the Shop Stewards' Movement. However, in those cases, the articles finally selected make clear the fundamentals underlying the growth of the movements and thus will serve their purpose in throwing light on the industrial thought of our time.

September 15, 1919. DANIEL BLOOMFIELD.

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Reprinted in this Handbook. See page 368.

SELECTED ARTICLES ON MODERN INDUSTRIAL MOVEMENTS

INTRODUCTION

The penalty for being a very busy industrial executive or manager is the difficulty in getting the facts needed in order to make decisions This is especially true of that class of facts which we vaguely lump under the heading of the "Labor problem"

And this situation need cause no surprise. The field of industrial literature is so big, the voices so varied, and indeed discordant, that it has come to be somewhat of a specialty to deal with the ideas, ideals, and general pronouncements in the world of industrial relations.

But it is not the specialist, it is the everyday business and manufacturing administrator who is most concerned with getting the vital information on which to form a judgment or a plant policy. He must understand what is moving men, what is acting on their thoughts, their feelings, their attitudes. Unless he is intelligent in this respect, he had better confine himself to lifeless things. Existence will then be more satisfactory.

It is the great merit of this book that it has selected for busy men who carry large responsibilities, a rich assortment of material which in the aggregate gives a unique cross-section of the important industrial thinking of our time. Thoughts are facts. They are the sort of facts which have a way of crystalizing into action, and the action of large masses of men in their industrial relationship is what makes the labor problem.

In looking over the table of contents of this volume there surely can be no imputation of bias. No one can be trusted to deal with facts who proceeds to get them or assert them in a manner to support some personal prepossession Getting facts is an art which needs more than ordinary conscientiousness This quality is present throughout this volume. The author is

looked upon as an expert organizer of fundamental information on economic questions. Those industrial and business leaders and students who appreciate what trustworthy organization of industrial data means will find the present volume a valuable collection of papers dealing with live industrial questions of the day.

A careful reading of the various topics, presented by the best published opinion obtainable will serve as a priceless initiation into what multitudes of human beings are thinking about, what they are trying to bring about, and what is actually taking place in the supremely important field of economic relationship.

Boston, Mass. MEYER BLOOMFIELD.
October 1919.

WORKERS' CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT

THE BRITISH CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT[1]

It was a Sunday afternoon in November, 1843. The place was Rochdale, England, a growing industrial town hard by capitalism's birthplace, the city of Manchester. The times were dark with misery for the nation's workers They seemed that afternoon especially dark to Rochdale's flannel weavers, who had just emerged from an unsuccessful strike. Twenty-eight of them were gathered together in the Chartists' Reading Room to discuss what could be done.

Some of the twenty-eight were Chartists who had been fighting with might and main for the political rights of the workers. Some were Owenite Socialists whose vision was a co-operative brotherhood. Some were just plain, unphilosophical weavers chained hand and foot by the credit system of the "truck" store and by the wage system—then at its worst.

Many were the remedial schemes proposed. One found favor. It was to start, as soon as capital permitted, a co-operative store of the workers, by the workers, for the workers, which immediately might free its members from dependence on exploiting merchants and from the enslavement of the credit system; which ultimately might lead to the abolition of the wage system, and "so arrange the powers of production, distribution, education and government as to create a self-supporting home colony."

Their dream seemed indeed Utopian. The dreamers were poor. They were unschooled. And who had ever heard of the working class controlling its own industrial affairs? But these dreamers not only had vision, they also had their share of good horse sense and bulldog resolution.

Two pence a week this little band resolved to put aside for the venture. The two pence gradually grew to $140, and with that a dilapidated old store in a back street known as Toad Lane, Rochdale, was hired. The Rochdale Pioneers, as they

[1] By Harry W. Laidler. From an article in Pearson's Magazine, copyrighted and reprinted by special permission.

were called, bought a few packages of flour, sugar, butter and oatmeal with which to supply the store, and finally got up sufficient courage to fling open the doors amid the jeers of surrounding storekeepers and the cat calls of street urchins. Mondays and Saturday nights the store was kept open. Its first week's sale amounted to the munificent sum of $10. One member acted as salesman, one as cashier, another as secretary and the fourth as treasurer. Tenderly the members coaxed along their small establishment. Many a conference was held over its probable demise

It did not die, however. To the surprise and wrath of merchants and the joy of the few faithful, it actually grew.

In 1914, seventy years after, if the original Pioneers had been still alive, they would have found that their dream had grown in England and Scotland into no less than 1,400 retail stores with many branches; into two enormous wholesale societies which supplied the retail "co-ops" with almost every conceivable article of common use, and which was in turn supplied from over a half-hundred factories owned by them They would have found annual sales for the factories, wholesale and retail stores of no less than $650,000,000 and a membership of over 3,000,000 (in 1917 over 4,000,000)—comprising, with the families of the members, between one-fourth and one-fifth of the population of Great Britain!

They would have discovered that the little capital of $140 had grown into one of over $300,000,000; that the four employees had increased to nearly 150,000; and hat the surplus divided at the end of the year to the workers who purchased their supplies from the "co-ops" had jumped from a few paltry dollars to more than $71,000,000!

Incidentally they would have learned that the co-operative movement was among the largest single buyers of produce from England on the New York Produce Exchange and the largest shipper of butter from Ireland; that is possessed the greatest tea warehouse and the most extensive shoe factory in the United Kingdom; that it had its buyers in every part of the world; that it owned thousands of acres of farm land; that it chartered its own ships, possessed tea estates in Ceylon and factories in Australia and had its agents in dozens of countries all over the world; that it was spending thousands of dollars annually for educational purposes, was growing five or six times faster than the British population, and that it was prov-

ing such a thorn in the flesh of the British merchant class that, at a recent convention in Glasgow, it was described by them as "the devil let loose upon trade."

Nothing, perhaps, indicates more vividly not only the wonderful growth and efficiency of this "industrial republic" of working class consumers, but also its power for usefulness to the workers in their struggle for higher wages, than does the part played by the co-operative movement in the strike of the Irish dockers of Dublin in 1913.

The unskilled workers of that city, 30,000 of them, had entered upon a long-drawn-out struggle for better conditions. They were holding out bravely, but were sorely in need of food. At the instigation of Larkin, the Parliamentary Committee of the British Trade Union Congress investigated conditions and decided to give $25,000 toward food for their Irish brethren. They tried to obtain a loan for that amount on a promissory note from respected English bankers, but were promptly refused aid.

"Will you supply 30,000 starving Irish workers with food on the guarantee of our note?" This question they then put up to the English Wholesale Co-operative Society in Manchester a few hours later on the afternoon of Wednesday, September 24th. The reply this time was a prompt affirmative.

"Within 48 hours," the manager declared, "60,000 packages of foodstuffs will be on board your chartered steamship in the harbor."

Presto! The order was executed. Thirty thousand packages, each containing two pounds of jams and as much of sugar, one pound of canned fish and quantities of butter and tea, and an additional thirty thousand packages of potatoes weighing some 10 pounds, were on the good ship *Hare* ready for the trip by Friday night.

Thus through the wonderful organization which the working class of Great Britain had slowly and painfully built up, the unskilled workers of Ireland, engaged in their most extensive labor struggle of the century, were able to give valiant resistance to the oppression of capital. Before the end of the strike, the Co-operative Wholesale Society sent no less than 17 specially chartered vessels to the relief of the strikers besides additional consignments through the more ordinary channels. Among the enormous quantities of supplies furnished by this society to their fellow workers were: 1,797,699 loaves of bread;

689,166 bags of potatoes; 477,966 packets of margarin; 480,306 packets of tea; 461,530 packets of sugar (2 pounds each); more than 85,000 tins of fish, nearly 75,000 jars of jam and many thousands of packets of split peas and beans, cheese and condensed milk.

In addition to this, the employees of the Wholesale gave as a Christmas gift to the Irishmen nearly 900 tons of coal and many hundredweight of biscuit, beef, onions, oranges and sweets.

No wonder that, on his present visit to America, Jim Larkin has been persistently preaching the gospel of co-operation as part and parcel of his agitation for the coming of a genuine industrial democracy!

The co-operative movement of consumers in Great Britain is divided territorially into two parts—the English and the Scottish Co-operatives. These have distinct organizations, although they unite their forces for common ventures.

In each country there are two branches of consumers' co-operatives—the retail and the wholesale. The retail societies, as stated before, number 1,400. About six-sevenths of these organizations have, as societies, joined the wholesales in their respective countries, and purchase from the wholesales about three-fourths of their supplies. Two of the largest and most complete business buildings in Manchester and Glasgow are used respectively as the headquarters of the English and Scottish Wholesales—wonderful monuments, they appear to the visitor, of the ability and perseverance of the English working class.

The retail movement has its greatest strength, not in the great centers of population, such as London, Liverpool or Birmingham, but rather in the smaller mining and industrial cities and villages between the Humber and the Tweed in Northern England and between the Clyde and the Forth in Scotland. In many of these cities one finds the co-operative store looming up as the most imposing edifice in town and as the intellectual and social center for the working class. A half dozen of the stores have a membership of more than 30,000 souls and employ between 1,000 and 2,600 employees. Literally hundreds possess a yearly trade of more than $500,000 and contain a membership exceeding 5,000. One whole county—Clackmannan—has a larger co-operative membership than it has households. The city of Leeds, England, boasts of the

most extensive membership of any society in the United Kingdom, and Edinburgh, Scotland, of the most extensive trade.

In many cities the "co-op" store is the one great fact in the economic life of the citizens. In the village of Desborough, in Northamptonshire, for instance, the co-operative not only sells the necessities of life to the great majority of the population, but also conducts many other activities left, in other cities, absolutely in the hands of private enterprise.

How Co-operative Stores Differ from Capitalistic Enterprises

How are these thousands of retail co-operative stores run? In what way do they differ from capitalistic enterprises? These are questions of vital interest and importance.

Any member of either sex can, at any time, join a co-operative by purchasing, in most societies, a $5 share of its stock. As a general rule membership begins just as soon as the first twenty-five cents of the $5 is remitted. The remainder of the share is usually paid for out of the dividends which would naturally accrue to the member from purchases at the store. The prices charged to the members for goods purchased are approximately the same as those of private merchants. A special effort is made, however, at all times to sell pure, unadulterated goods and to give full measure. Practically no credit is extended to the members of the store—cash transactions are well nigh universal.

At the end of the quarter the surplus earned by the society is divided among the members in proportion to their purchases. The sums distributed range for different stores and periods from 37 cents to 62 cents on every $5 worth of goods purchased, or between 7 per cent. and 12 per cent. This amount is called the "dividend." This term, however, is somewhat of a misnomer, and has led to the constant accusation that the co-operative differs not at all from a private venture. But the distinction is marked. The dividend in the private firm is paid to an inactive stockholder on capital loaned and increases in proportion to the prosperity of the enterprise. The "dividend" of the co-operative is paid to a member-purchaser in proportion to purchases made. It bears no relation to the amount of shares owned. In fact, the return to shareholders on capital invested is likely to become less in co-operative stores in proportion to their increasing prosperity.

Members may also purchase shares to the extent of $200 from most of the co-operatives. An average of 5 per cent. is

paid on these shares. All members are privileged to attend the quarterly meetings of the society and to vote on all issues. Each member has one vote and one vote only, irrespective of the number of shares owned. The membership elects the committee of store management, generally 28 in number. In most societies employees are excluded from holding office. Officers must possess a certain minimum of shares This democratically elected committee on management appoints the store manager and has charge of the affairs of the society. The members of the co-operative stores are overwhelmingly working class in their character—miners, weavers, artisans—and the management committees are also very largely composed of the manual working class In many of the suburbs, however, the professional and clerical groups exert a considerable influence.

Two devices adopted at the formation of the co-operative movement, universally adhered to, have been responsible, to no small degree, for keeping the British co-operative movement a truly democratic republic of consumers The first device has been the distribution of dividends according to purchases, not according to capital invested. The second has been that of one man, one vote.

In a private concern, or even in a self-governing workshop, where surplus is divided according to capital invested, the inevitable tendency is to restrict the number of shares—after a minimum of capital is obtained—in order to augment the return to each shareholder. The greater the number of shares obtained by one individual, moreover, the greater the control of that individual over the industry, because the greater is his voting capacity.

In the British co-operatives, however, this condition does not obtain. The larger the number of members, the larger the amount of goods purchased and the smaller the average cost of distribution. The inevitable result is a larger dividend to each individual—providing, of course, the prices remain stationary. This increased dividend gives to each member an incentive to increase the number of members of the society and to have the co-operative include an ever larger proportion of the population

The British retail co-operative stores differ then from the capitalistic enterprises by virtue of the fact that they are organized for use and not for profit; that they give returns primarily according to purchases made, not according to shares

owned; that they provide to each member an incentive to obtain an ever larger membership for the stores; and that they give all an equal voice in the management of the stores, irrespective of the amount of shares owned—thus ensuring democratic control by a working class constituency. The shares of the stores are, furthermore, absolutely non-speculative. They are bought at par and sold at par.

. The retail stores, however, constitute but one part of the whole co-operative machine. As soon as retail co-operatives began to be organized in various parts of the nation, they were, in many instances, discriminated against by the wholesalers who wished to discourage co-operative enterprise. They were often able to purchase but a comparatively few commodities at a time and this made buying relatively expensive To eliminate these and other disadvantages, numerous demands were made for the establishment of wholesale stores.

In 1863, nearly twenty years after the birth of the Rochdale Co-operative Store, a central warehouse was established in Manchester by the representatives of a number of retails The headquarters appeared at first like "a gaunt spectre haunting certain rooms in Cooper Street and starving upon quarter rations." The wholesale, however, soon "caught on."

At first it confined itself to the purchase and display of a few groceries. Soon a boot and shoe department appeared, then, in succession, drapery, furnishing, tea, architectural, printing and other departments quickly followed.

Branches began to appear in London, Newcastle and various other cities with extensive and attractive salesrooms filled with exhibits for buyers of retail stores. Following these came great warehouses for tea and other commodities throughout the United Kingdom.

Still the co-operators were not satisfied. Still they felt that they must get nearer to the producer. So they became their own brokers and sent their purchasing agents to all parts of the world. To Greece their representative went every year, and bought dried fruits direct from the farms at Patras—in some instances having them conveyed to England in the vessels owned and run by the co-operative movement. They established purchasing depots in Cork, New York, Hamburg, Copenhagen, Gothenburg, Ceylon, Denia, a city in Spain, Montreal and at various other points of strategic importance.

"We have now demonstrated that we can run successfully

our own retail and wholesale business and have supplanted in many instances the private broker, purchasing agent, warehouseman," they began to argue. "Why cannot we become our own producers, especially of those working class necessities for which there is a steady demand?"

Without their own factories, they discovered, they could not ensure the quality of their goods and they would, furthermore, be forced to pay rent, profit and interest to other manufacturers The result was the organization of a long series of factories. Works were started for the preparation of bread, flour, corn, cocoa, chocolate, lard and butter, jam and tobacco and many foodstuffs. Great factories appeared for the making of boots, shoes and clothing. These proved successful and still more articles were produced. In 1874 the manufacture of soap was begun. By 1900 no less than 800 tons of this household necessity were sold weekly by the co-operators. Cabinet and tallow, brush and drug, iron, tin, bucket, fender and paint works were also entered into and by 1912 the English Wholesale boasted no less than forty such factories, while the Scottish housed in Glasgow no less than a dozen.

A cry of "Back to the Land" was then raised by many of the co-operative societies. The ideal of co-operation, it was argued, would not be reached until the movement possessed some part of the soil and grew its own raw materials therefrom. So after much discussion—and no step was taken by the co-operatives without thorough discussion—the movement decided, in 1896, to purchase an extensive estate of between 700 and 800 acres in the western part of England, near the city of Shewsbury, at a cost of $150,000. Soon thousands of bushes and trees loaded with fruit were in evidence, and immense glass-houses, in their collective lengths no less than a mile, were nourishing tomatoes, cucumbers and other vegetables. A fine convalescent home for sick members was built on the estate.

Eight years afterwards another estate near Hereford was added to the co-operator's possession, containing some 22,000 plum beds, 4,500 apple trees, and over 100,000 gooseberry bushes. Purchasing departments were established in rural England a few years later, and in 1912 and 1913 extensive farms for the raising of vegetables and for cattle grazing became the property of the Wholesale. The total area of the society land is now about 2,500 acres, excluding large tracts owned by retail stores.

Nor did the co-operators stop in their acquisition of land

when the shores of England were reached. They had developed, during many years, a remarkable tea trade—which, of course, is not at all remarkable when one considers the English thirst for tea. In 1913, in fact, the English and Scottish Wholesales boasted a sale of 27,219,767 pounds of that beverage. It was but natural, therefore, that the enterprising co-operators should try to trace the tea to its source and control the product from its very beginnings. So, in 1902, it purchased three large estates in Ceylon, and in 1907 and 1913 further increased its holdings, possessing, at the end of that year, no less than 2,899 acres of ground, including a factory and adequate machinery.[1]

There is one line of business which the average worker has been led to believe is so intricate and difficult to handle that it should be left wholly in the hands of the intellectual *élite*, and that this intellectual *élite* should, with justice, secure huge sums of money therefrom for condescending to tackle the business of banking. It was with perhaps some misgivings that the English Wholesale, in 1872, began its career as banker, opening, for this purpose, a Deposit and Loan Department. This department finally changed to the Banking Department of the C. W. S., permitted retail stores to deposit money and loaned money to them in time of need. It was not long before its worth was realized, and during the last generation hundreds of thousands of dollars have been saved to the co-operators, which would otherwise have been diverted into the coffers of the bankers. In the year 1913 the deposits and withdrawals of this department amounted to the enormous sum of $850,000,000. Over 1,000 of the retail societies are now keeping their accounts with this institution, having been weaned away, by proof of greater advantages, from private banks.

The C. W. S. Banking Department, it may be said in passing, has a somewhat unusual system of exacting a fixed commission both on deposits and withdrawals, sufficient to cover the expenses of the Department. However, a small amount of interest, 2½ per cent, is returned on all balances, and 4½ per cent. exacted on all overdrafts The net surplus, averaging about $225,000 a year, is divided among all customers at the rate of 1 per cent on deposits or withdrawals (½ per cent. to non-members). Besides the retail co-operatives, trade unions have been permitted to keep their accounts with the Department, as

[1] In 1916 the C. W. S. purchased 10,000 acres of wheat land in Canada.

non-members, and no less than 124 unions have thus far availed themselves of the opportunity afforded.

More lately the Wholesale has allowed individual members of the stores to deposit money with them through the retails, and has loaned money to individuals for the purpose of building or purchasing their own homes. No less than 2,000 members have thus been accommodated with about $2,000,000.

The Scottish Wholesale has not gone into this business so extensively as has its brother society, but does receive deposits from individuals and societies, the deposits of a year aggregating about $12,500,000. This amount has been invested with public authorities or with societies on security of land and buildings.

Another incursion into the domain of private business, and one which, as in the case of banking, deals with the more intangible wealth, was made by the Wholesale with the establishment of the Insurance Department. Four years after the formation of the Wholesale, the society took charge of its own fire insurance. It was not long before the members began to feel that the insurance of human beings was, perhaps, worth consideration. At first, a distinct organization was formed for the purpose of conducting this important branch for the co-operatives, but in 1911 the Scottish and English societies took over the Insurance Co-operative Society bodily. Now practically every imaginable kind of insurance is conducted by the Insurance Department—fire, accident, death, workingman's compensation, employers' liability, burglary and fidelity guarantee.

If an English co-operator wishes to insure his house, worth $500, against fire, he pays 50 cents a year; if against burglary, 82 cents. About one-half of the entire industrial insurance business of Great Britain is now in the hands of the co-operative

The greatest achievement of the Co-operative Insurance Department, however, and one which indicates most vividly the exceeding waste involved in our present private insurance schemes as compared with the possible automatic governmental insurance, is the so-called "Collective Insurance Scheme" recently adopted by the Wholesale. By this plan it is possible for retail co-operative stores to insure *as a society*. The retail gives to the Wholesale Insurance Department two cents a year for each $5 of purchases made by members Through this single exchange, all of the members of the retail are automatically insured. There are no expensive collections by insur-

ance agents, no costly offices to be maintained in each town, no lapses for non-payment on the part of the individual worker. Insurance money is paid to the member, wife or husband on the basis of the average annual purchase made by the members during the three years prior to death

At the end of 1913, some 406 co-operative societies had taken advantage of the scheme, insuring thereby over 800,000. Premiums from this source had reached $500,000 a year and nearly 13,000 claims had already been paid.

The expense of administering this collective plan was, moreover, found to be about 5 per cent of the premium paid in, while that incurred in administering the average industrial insurance was 4 per cent For every 25 cents paid into the industrial company, 11 cents went for expenses For every 25 cents paid under the collectivist scheme, about 1 cent was needed to cover expenses

The co-operative movement, it is true, has dealt primarily in dollars and cents. It has, however, since its very inception, proved a great forum for the thrashing out of big ideas of value to the working class Many of the retail societies have for years laid aside each year 2½ per cent. for educational purposes and hundreds of thousands of dollars have been expended for that purpose.

In their desire to keep alive general educational propaganda, the co-operators formed, nine years after the C W. S. was established, a Co-operative Union to look after this end of the work. Each society contributes to this association. For many years, through its annual Co-operative Congress, the Union has exerted a big influence on the general movement. It has published many hundreds of tracts interpreting the work of the Co-operative; has established scores of libraries and reading rooms; has conducted thousands of courses on co-operation and civic problems; has exerted considerable pressure on political bodies to ensure that rights of co-operatives were not invaded; has organized lectures and entertainments; has given sage advice to struggling stores; has acted as arbitrator in time of dispute; has lessened the evil of overlapping among the retail stores; has issued plans for a great Co-operative College, and has, in a thousand and one ways, helped to solidify the forces of co-operation.

The women also of late have been proving a more and more

effective force in holding aloft the banner of co-operative brotherhood.

In many instances the co-operators are found on the amusement side of life The Scottish Societies have a camp for the members on Loch Riddon, one of the beautiful Scottish lakes, and walking and camping parties are constantly being planned directly and indirectly by the retail and wholesale "co-ops."

The Co-operative Wholesale Societies are managed in the same democratic manner as are the retails. Of the 1,400 retail co-operative stores in Great Britain, 1,200 belong to the English and Scottish Wholesales. Each retail, on joining, gives to the Wholesale shares to the value of $5 for every member it has enrolled. In England each society has one vote in the Wholesale for every 500 members it contains; in Scotland voting power is proportionate to purchases from the Wholesale. Twice a year meetings are held at which financial reports are rendered and discussed. Twice a year the general affairs of the societies are thoroughly aired

The management of the English Wholesale is in the hands of 32 directors elected by the delegates of the retail societies to hold office for two years. These 32 directors give their entire time to the business of this great industrial plant at the magnificent salary of $1,750 a year! The management of millions of dollars of business and its successful and honest management at a salary less than that of a junior clerk in a small American business concern! Money is the only incentive to ability? Not here!

Twelve directors are appointed by the Scottish Society at a similar salary. Practically all of these directors are members of the working class.

"These two committees," declares the Fabian Bureau, in discussing the management committees of the two wholesale societies, "directing in unison and sometimes actually in partnership, manufacturing, importing and distributing enterprises with an aggregate annual turnover exceeding $200,000,000, and nearly 30,000 employees, *are a standing proof of the capacity of the British workmen for industrial self government. For not only all the committeemen, but with one or two exceptions also all the officers of the wholesale societies belong to the manual working class by birth, by training and by sympathy.*"

Throughout the existence of the co-operative movement,

special attention has been paid to the conditions of the employees of the wholesale and retail societies. The movement is not a Co-operative of Producers, but a Co-operative of Consumers. It cannot claim, therefore, to have inaugurated, in its retail, wholesale or productive departments, the status of a self-governing workshop. The employees do not directly, as employees, elect their own managers.

The successful self-governing co-operative workshops in England, where full democracy in the management of the individual shop has prevailed, have been few and far between. Out of the thousands established during the last century, one strictly self-governing factory, the Nelson Self Help Manufacturing Society, with a capital of some $20,000 and with 116 employees, has, through 25 years, breasted the storm of capitalistic opposition, and has sustained life as a thoroughly democratic concern, where workers are practically all part owners and where they elect their own managers and run the industry directly. A few other democratic workshops in the boot industry have also survived. Their success is a good omen However, the obstacles to that success have been great.

The employees of the co-operative, while not directly controlling their own shop, are, on the average, considerably better off than those in capitalistic concerns. And this, despite the fact that the co-operatives are in constant competition with the private stores and cannot afford to charge higher prices than these establishments. The workers may have an equal voice in the management of the stores with any other member, the mere requirement being that they join a co-operative retail society. Generally when a trade union exists in the trade represented by the worker, the employee is encouraged to join and sometimes is required so to do. Through the union, of course, the employee secures a degree of control over his conditions. Moreover, practically the entire management of wholesale and retail co-operatives is in the hands of the working class members and every question is discussed by most of the constituent stores largely from the standpoint of the producer.

It is not surprising, therefore, that the co-operative worker, in trades represented by trade unions, invariably receives the full trade union rates, usually for shorter days; that the holidays in the co-operative movement are more frequent; that a minimum wage is enforced for male and female workers; that the attitude toward labor in time of sickness, etc., is in marked

contrast with that found in many capitalistic concerns; and that the health conditions in the factories are superior.

In the great Crumpsall biscuit works, for instance, where more biscuit packets are turned out than in any other factory in the country, one finds that the space allotted to the workers is four or five times as great as that required by law. A lighter, brighter space could hardly be imagined. This is the one biscuit factory in the country, moreover, which has adopted the eight-hour day, trade union wages being paid. Capacious dining-rooms for employees where good, substantial meals can be obtained for eight cents each; lounging rooms with piano, gramophone, a well selected library and the representative magazines and newspapers are available, while extensive athletic grounds for tennis, cricket, nine pins are there for the enjoyment of the workers Free summer camps, dances and entertainments are among the other features which take care of the social side of things.

The Scottish Wholesale also gives a certain bonus to the workers in proportion to its profits. For many years there has been an agitation for the establishment of the same plan in the English society, and for some years this plan was actually entered upon. However, it was found that, "as products were not sold on the markets, but were transferred to other departments at arbitrary valuation, no profits could be ascertained with any exactitude." The surplus of the factories, furthermore, depended "on the chances of the market, unconnected with the zeal or the efficiency of the operator."

While the conditions of the manual proletariat of the co-operatives are superior to those found in most capitalistic industries in Great Britain, the great salaries given in private industries to many of the brain workers are not evidenced here. The highest salary received by the manager of a co-operative concern in England and Scotland—and this is an exceptional case—is $6,000. None of the 32 directors in the great English Wholesale, as was stated before, obtain more than $1,750 The salaries of the managers of the factories vary from $2,000 to $4,000, approximately the same gradation as that which exists in the big retail co-operatives with an annual trade extending to $2,500,000. The general manager of the average retail, on the other hand, receives from $20 to $25 a week.

What keeps these workers in the co-operative movement, you ask. "The attractiveness of comradeship in a great popu-

lar organization; the consideration they enjoy as the public administrators and leaders of a widespread democracy; and the consciousness of social service."

Finally, what have the members of the co-operative gained through these long years of struggle? Has their effort been worth the while?

The co-operatives have saved to their working class membership millions of dollars which would otherwise have been distributed among countless middle men and merchants. They have freed the workers from the bondage of the credit system; have provided an easy method of saving; have ensured pure, honest goods—and an honest measure.

More important, however, have been the educational results Co-operation in England has given to tens of thousands of workers an invaluable training in the conduct of industry and in the art of working together to achieve big results. It has inspired them with a confidence in the possibilities of the working class controlling a still greater share of its own industrial life. It has shown them who in their ranks can be entrusted with their cause. To the manual employee members of the society the co-operative movement has, furthermore, meant a better standard of living than they would otherwise have obtained.

The competition of the immense chain, department and mail order stores, with capitalization of millions of dollars, must be faced—this development had not taken place in England at the beginning of the co-operative movement. The organized discrimination of the private wholesale and retail dealers against co-operatives must be dealt with. The belief on the part of many American workmen that the only kind of collective effort which it pays them to make is that made through their trade unions for an increase of wages, etc., must be uprooted. Counter attractions must be provided the wives of the workers to whom "shopping" and "bargain hunting" have proved such fascinations. Finally, co-operators in America must perform the difficult task of welding together for common co-operative effort many heterogeneous groups of workers, descendants of widely separated nations and races.

However, in spite of these difficulties, there are undoubtedly great possibilities for co-operation in this country - provided it is rightly handled.

How should co-operative enterprises be organized? First,

according to the successful English co-operators, the store should be started in a working class community where practically the same standard of living prevails for large numbers of the population, and where the demand for certain definite commodities is likely to be steady. A community in which the inhabitants have shown an ability to work together and in which the wage earners are reasonably well paid is preferred. For the co-operators in England have found that their trade is neither among the very poor nor among the well-to-do, but chiefly among those workers to whom the quarterly dividend is a positive inducement, and who are not compelled to live from hand to mouth.

When the place is selected and stocked with staple commodities, or, perhaps, prior thereto, the co-operators should proceed to permanent organization.

The "don'ts" and "do's" suggested by the movement abroad at this juncture are many and various.

Don't choose a person as member of a committee on management because he is a good talker. Select men who are honest, who possess quiet thought and good common sense, who are willing to submerge the ego and who are animated with a profound belief in the co-operative cause. Make the committee, during its term of service, the head of the society; the supreme tribunal, of course, always being the membership-at-large. Insist that the committee require of its manager accurate reports every week. Urge it, however, to discourage undue, petty interference with the work of the appointed manager.

Do not select a person as manager because, forsooth, he chances to be out of a job, and the committee is therefore anxious to help him. Select a man in sympathy with the cause, of high character, possessed of good business ability, a level head and an unusual amount of tact. Let him be ever conscious of the fact that those around him "are not dependents of his, but co-workers in a democratic movement." Let him confer with and take suggestions from the humblest. However, place him in a position to enforce discipline and cleanliness.

Select the workers carefully. Make them missionaries of the co-operative idea; secure for them reasonable hours and wages and "a feeling that their welfare is one of the chief concerns of those for whom the service is rendered." And, finally, make the store one in which it is a pleasure to enter.

If the co-operative store committees observe these and other

important rules, a co-operative movement worthy of the name may, without doubt, be expected in this country.

The people of Great Britain and of practically every advanced country of Europe can no longer declare with any sincerity that the working class has never shown its ability to conduct its own industrial affairs The co-operative movement is a monumental example of the workers' ability to do this.

Will the workers of America furnish a similar example? Will they provide for themselves the training needed to understand the complexities of modern industrial life? Are they possessed of sufficient imagination, sufficient practical executive ability, sufficient stick-to-itiveness, sufficient will to carry through this important experiment in industrial democracy? The future alone can tell. Judging, however, from the signs of the co-operative spirit which are now appearing thick and fast on the American horizon, the writer is convinced that these questions require an answer in an emphatic affirmative.

PROGRESS OF THE CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT IN GREAT BRITAIN[1]

The signing of the armistice has stimulated a new interest in the co-operative movement throughout Great Britain, where there already were some 2,500 industrial co-operative distributive and productive societies in operation, with a membership of three and one-half million persons, a total share, loan, and reserve capital of over $375,000,000, a total trade (distributive and productive) of just over $1,000,000,000, and a total profit in 1916, before deduction of interest or share capital, of about $90,000,000.

On the whole the war has had a favorable effect on the progress of co-operation in Great Britain. Controlled prices have helped rather than hindered the movement, since in the case of the controlled commodities, for which everybody must pay a certain retail price, members of the co-operative society have an advantage over non-members in that they receive a dividend on all purchases. Co-operative stores are the only stores paying such a dividend, and in many cases this has been

[1] From Commerce Reports, United States Department of Commerce. May 5, 1919. (p. 674-6).

an excellent argument to prove the soundness of the co-operative system.

The number of members of individual co-operative societies has shown a fair increase, and this increase would undoubtedly have been much greater had the societies been able to obtain sufficient supplies Government restrictions, applying equally to all stores, made it very difficult for a stock of supplies to be maintained in any section of the country. During the last 10 days of the present month (January) British consumers have the option of changing their retail dealers, and this is expected to result in a substantial gain in the membership of retail co-operative societies, since it is believed that many persons who were not members during the war now appreciate to a greater extent the merits of the co-operative idea.

The extent to which the war has interfered with the normal organization of co-operative societies can be realized when it is known that the British Co-operative Society alone had 6,000 employees called to the colors. The society undertook to make up the difference between their pay as soldiers and their wages by means of the payment of a separation allowance, and to date $3,000,000 has been disbursed for this purpose. As demobilization proceeds and former employees return the society will be in an excellent position to proceed with the new development schemes referred to below

The British Co-operative Wholesale Society (Ltd.), with headquarters at Manchester, England, and the Scottish Co-operative Wholesale Society (Ltd.), with head offices at Glasgow and Edinburgh, Scotland, are the most important single units in the co-operative movement in Great Britain. The British society commenced business on March 14, 1863, and the Scottish society on September 8, 1868. The membership of both societies is made up entirely of individual co-operative retail societies. The British society now comprises 1,180 societies having 2,653,257 members. That the societies have prospered during the war is evident from the table given below, which covers the operations of the wholesale co-operative societies from January, 1913, to June, 1918:

OPERATIONS OF WHOLESALE CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETIES, JANUARY, 1913, TO JUNE 30, 1918

	1913	1914	1915	1916	1917	1918[1]
Number of £5 shares taken out	416,366	432,049	469,869	556,098	616,048	636,578
Members in constituent societies	2,272,496	2,336,460	2,535,972	2,653,227	2,748,277	2,803,325
Shares	$9,923,056	$10,370,312	$11,118,775	$12,914,591	$14,532,260	$15,068,903
Loans and deposits	24,735,398	26,760,713	31,165,441	40,894,776	44,903,400	50,908,851
Trade and bank reserve fund	3,950,703	4,396,177	4,172,221	3,940,337	3,989,192	3,930,755
Insurance fund	4,270,252	4,890,609	5,503,432	6,111,925	6,824,804	7,156,222
Reserved balances	88,950	582,014	512,769	530,137	3,833,838	3,830,578
Total	42,968,359	46,999,825	52,472,638	64,391,766	74,083,494	80,895,309
Net sales	$152,671,721	$169,893,471	$209,783,851	$254,177,655	$280,846,357	$144,157,298
Increase over previous year:						
Amount	$9,558,234	$17,221,750	$39,890,379	$44,393,804	$26,668,702	$352,208
Per cent	6.68	11.28	23.19	21.16	10 49	0.25
Distributing expenses	$3,008,568	$3,104,599	$3,481,324	$3,823,132	$4,319,087	$2,345,741
Net profits	$3,095,673	$4,088,196	$5,289,700	$7,392,238	$5,600,037	$592,589
Average dividend, per cent	4	5	6	5	3	1

[1] Six months.

It will be noted that the profits of the trade department for the six months ending with June, 1918, show a sharp decrease from those for the year 1917. This is explained by the policy of the board of directors to keep wholesale prices as low as pos-

sible, in order that the members of the retail societies may reap the benefit.

The total sales of the wholesale societies for the first six months of 1918 are given as $144,157,298. It is estimated that the total sales for the year ending December 31, 1918, will amount to $311,456,000. Practically all of this total represents sales to co-operative retail societies—in other words, wholesale prices. Groceries and provisions make up the biggest item in the business of the Co-operative Wholesale Society.

Up until the past two or three years the contact between the co-operative societies and the trade-unions has not been at all close. Recently, however, there has been a definite attempt to persuade trade-unions to do their banking business with the banking department of the Co-operative Wholesale Society, and an important scheme of agricultural and industrial development which will shortly be announced by the society will tend, it is believed, toward establishing a closer working arrangement between the co-operative societies and the trade-unions.

For a long time the leaders of the co-operative movement have sought to widen the field of co-operative trading, and efforts have been made to have the law governing co-operative trading so amended as to allow individual members of societies to increase their interest beyond the limit of $1,000. The Treasury has now sanctioned the proposal to issue what will be called "development bonds" in denominations of $100, $250, $500, $2,500, and $5,000 up to a sum of $12,500,000. Thes bonds will bear interest at the rate of 5½ per cent., payable half yearly, and they may be redeemed at par at the end of ten years. At a meeting of the shareholders of the Co-operative Wholesale Society held in Manchester during the past week this scheme for issuing developmental bonds was ratified.

The directors of the Co-operative Wholesale Society believe that their scheme will appeal not only to individuals but also to trade-unions as a good investment for their funds. Already several hundred trade-unions are banking with the local co-operative society in their districts, which acts as an agent of the banking department of the Co-operative Wholesale Society at Manchester. Trade-unions also invest their funds in municipal, government, and railway stocks. The proposal which the Co-operative Wholesale Society now makes to the trade-unions is that it will be to their interest to invest their

money in a co-operative scheme for development in the field of agriculture and industry.

Among the projects contemplated under this development-bond scheme is the acquisition and operation by the society of flour mills, tanneries, jam factories, boot and shoe factories, corn mills, dairy farms and similar enterprises. Not long ago the Co-operative Wholesale Society began the manufacture of textiles. It bought and is now running three weaving sheds—one at Bury with 900 looms, another at Radcliffe with 500 looms. It proposes to extend its interest in cotton-textile manufacturing when it is in position to consume the yarn output of a moderate-sized mill. It intends to build a mill for the spinning of yarn in the near future.

Another big development foreshadowed is the acquisition of large coal fields in Yorkshire. Already the society owns a coal mine near Newcastle. During the war the society has spent large sums for the purchase of farm lands and factories. For land in connection with factory extensions it has paid $573,480; for new factories and workshops, $3,049,650, and for farms and other land, $3,333,960—a total of nearly $7,000,000. It is estimated that the society now holds about 33,000 acres of farm lands, mostly in Lancashire, Cheshire, Yorkshire, and Cambridgeshire.

It is hoped eventually to establish 1,400 branches of the banking department of the Co-operative Wholesale Society.

THE CO-OPERATIVE CONSUMERS' MOVEMENT IN THE UNITED STATES[1]

Fundamental Principles

1. One vote only for each member.
2. Capital to receive interest at not more than the legal or minimum current rate.
3. Surplus savings (or "profit") to be returned as savings returns (or "dividends") in proportion to the patronage of each individual, or to be employed for the general social good of the society.
4. Business to be done for cash or its equivalent.

[1] By James Peter Warbasse. The Co-operative League of America, 1919.

5. Goods to be sold at current market price—not at cost.

6. Education in the principles and aims of Co-operation, with the view of expansion into the larger fields, always to be carried on in connection with the enjoyment of the immediate economic advantages.

7. Federation as soon as possible with the nearest Co-operative societies, with the ultimate purpose of national and world Co-operation.

The Co-operative Movement is an organized force moving toward the control of the necessities of life by the people in a free society. It aims to set the people working together for their mutual benefit. It teaches how they may be free from the exploitation of private interests.

It proceeds to do this through organization entirely external to the political state. Through their co-operative organization, the people become their own store-keepers, wholesalers, manufacturers, bankers and insurance societies. Co-operation teaches the people how to provide, own and conduct their own housing, recreations and educational institutions, and ultimately to supply all of their needs. Its purpose is to take these things out of private hands, which administer them through a competitive system for purposes of private gain, and install organized consumers in the place of private promoters.

It does this through methods which are democratic and founded on the principles of liberty and fraternity. It excludes none. It desires that all shall join. Its significant function is to substitute the spirit of co-operation and mutual aid for that of competition and antagonism.

This movement exists in all countries of the world. For seventy-five years it has been growing without ceasing. Its increase is ten times faster than the population is increasing. In Europe it now embraces one third of the population. In some countries a majority of the people are included in the Co-operative Movement. The organized societies in each country are federated in the World Movement through the International Co-operative Alliance. This is the strongest and most effective democratic international organization in the world.

Where does America stand in this great movement? The history of Co-operation in the United States is a story of idealism, blasted by failures. From a practical point of view the pioneers were not rewarded by the success of their enterprises.

But idealism never perishes, and today we are reaping the benefits of which they despaired.

The spirit of individualism, the newness of the country, the mixture of races and nationalities, the presence of frontiers into which a fluid population could be kept moving, and the not hopeless possibilities of escape from poverty, all contributed to inhibit the growth of Co-operation in the United States In later times the strenuous competition among private tradesmen, the allurements through business advertising, and the great power of monopolies and vested interests have been potent factors against co-operative development.

Co-operation among the descendants of the Puritan and Pilgrim settlers of this country may be said to have failed New England is the burial ground of Co-operation To this day the most backward people in this movement are those of the oldest American stock.

The new life came with aggregations of immigrant people from countries which had well established co-operative societies. The farmers of the western and northern states and the foreign industrial workers in all parts of the country during the past decade have been making more successful experiments in organization than had ever before been attained But it has been especially since the year 1916 that the greatest impetus to the movement has been seen. This has been due partly to a greater stability of industry, partly to the conspicuousness of profiteering and the obvious evils of the competitive system, partly to the better education in the fundamentals of Co-operation which has been promoted, and partly to the culmination of impulses to get together and do the thing which sooner or later had to be done.

All over the country the movement has developed. It has been sporadic No center can be designated as the seat of the renaissance of Co-operation. The agricultural people of the northern states have been among the first in this new era The Co-operative League of America has knowledge of over 2,000 true consumers' co-operative societies conducting stores. In some locations the purchasing power of groups of societies has become so great that they have federated and organized wholesale societies.

The Tri-state Co-operative Society is a federation of about seventy societies, mostly in western Pennsylvania. These societies are constituted of many nationalities; Poles, Slovaks,

Lithuanians, Ukranians, Italians and Bohemians. One of the typical successful organizations is that of Bentleyville, Penn. Here in a little mining town, it has crowded out private business, and handles groceries, meats, dry goods, shoes, feed and automobile supplies to the amount of $200,000 a year.

The Tri-state Co-operative Society maintains a wholesale with a warehouse at Monessen, Pa. It has recently acquired another warehouse at Pittsburgh. The demands of the co-operative societies within reach of its motor trucks are so great that it does not attempt to give service beyond a radius of twenty or thirty miles. It carries a stock of staple commodities, which are quickly consumed and renewed. It is growing rapidly. A single labor union contributed $5000 to its capital.

The Central States Co-operative Society is a federation of about sixty-five distributive societies. Its headquarters are Springfield, Illinois. It maintains a wholesale with a warehouse at East St. Louis. These societies are largely built up among the union locals of the United Mine Workers in Illinois. This is a group of about eighty of these societies. Their financial success enables many of them to return to their members a savings-return of from 6 to 12 per cent. quarterly on the cost of their purchases. The society at Witt, Illinois, may be taken as a typical example of this group. It has over 300 members. Its last quarterly report shows that for the three months they paid a cash savings-return to their members of 8 per cent., totalling $2,213; they added to their merchandise reserve fund $1,051; their sales to members for the three months were $27,685, and to non-members $3,354; and their total resources are $28,847. Its building is the largest in the town. They state, "Private merchants no longer look upon us lightly; some of them are beginning to wonder how long they will last. Almost all of them have reduced their help." This society like that at Danville, has an energetic committee on education and social features, and brings together the men, women and children in its educational and recreational activities.

The Staunton, Illinois, society has nearly 400 members, declares a 10 per cent. savings-return, does a quarterly business of $36,376, and has resources amounting to $35,000.

Many of these societies own their own buildings. They sell groceries, meat, hardware, dry goods, and clothing. Some conduct their own coal-yard. The Roseland, Illinois, Society has

400 members, and is doing a business of $130,000 a year. The Gillespie, Illinois, Society does a business of $140,000 a year. Here is a society with a large element of Scottish co-operators, who learned Co-operation in the old country. Their festivals and picnics, with their band of kilted musicians, is a glory of the movement.

The $3,000,000 annual business which these Illinois societies do is in the hands of working men who have come up out of the mines and taken charge of financial affairs. I have no hesitation in saying that their business is conducted with a higher degree of efficiency, more economically, more honestly, and with a smaller chance of failure than is the average capitalistic business which is in the hands of that paragon of astuteness, "the American business man."

Illinois is but an index of what is going on in the neighboring states. Strong groups of societies exist in Indiana, Ohio and Iowa. The Palatine Co-operative Society of Chicago with 1200 members conducts a school with 400 Polish students. This society has a capital of $500,000

The societies in the northern states are growing up in the farmers' organizations. Their wealth, numbers, and the size of their membership is greater than in any other section of the country. These societies are largely connected with co-operative producers' organizations Hundreds of them not only conduct stores where groceries, clothing, dry goods, and hardware are sold, but they do an enormous business in supplying seeds, fertilizer, and harvesting machinery to their members. These same organizations buy the farmers' products and dispose of them on a co-operative basis Some of them own grain elevators, others are organized to sell live stock, and not a few conduct a meat-packing business. It is among these societies that the Co-operative Wholesale Society of America, the American Rochdale Union, The American Co-operative Association, the American Rochdale League, the American Co-operative Organization Bureau, and a large number of organization societies operate. One of these is organizing co-operative distributive societies at the rate of one every two weeks. Another of these societies started in 1914 with $7,000 capital paid in. In 1918 it had 75 branches with over $700,000 paid in. It has a wholesale and has entered the field of manufacture. There are several such organizations which manage groups of distributive societies, and do their bookkeeping, auditing,

buying, and generally supervise their work. One is developing a mail order business. One in Wisconsin does a business of between $700,000 and $1,000,000 per month. The expense of carrying on this business is 3 1/3% of the amount of sales. They put up in one year fifteen car loads of canned goods with their own label.

Wisconsin, Minnesota, the Dakotas, and Montana are, perhaps, more thoroughly permeated with the spirit of co-operation than any other section of the country An example of the method of operation is the Silverleaf, North Dakota, Society. A small group of farmers subscribed $200 each They bought out two merchants in the nearest town One building was remodeled and used as a store, warehouse and creamery; the other is used as a community center. The same group of farmers are members of a co-operative farm-produce selling association; the interests of the two are combined This is going on all through the northern States The Non-Partisan League has given special attention to co-operative organizations and is promoting the movement, organizing not only societies to run stores, but banks and community centers

The North-west has a vigorous movement around Puget Sound. The powerful labor organizations of Seattle have become interested in Co operation. Things are happening rapidly. The Seattle society bought a store doing a business of $4,200 a month. They started in June 1918 and increased the business to $7,000 a month. They then took over the city market, and during the first 30 weeks did a business of $500,000. Now their meat business alone amounts to $70,000 a month. Their net profit in the first seven months was $20,000 All this business is on strictly Rochdale principles. During the past few months, they have gone ahead and organized their slaughter house where they kill the animals supplied by their own agricultural members Most of their fruit and vegetables are supplied by their own members. Their market is a concrete building with its own ice plant and cold storage

Among these Seattle Co-operatives are found a laundry, printing plant, milk condensary, several shingle mills, fish cannery and recreation houses. Behind them is the support of the labor unions. A single union contributed $12,000 to their total $41,000 paid up capital The Puget Sound Co-operative Wholesale, a federation of the societies about Seattle, was organized in 1918. In the Winter of 1919 it fed the families of the strik-

ing ship-yard workers when the authorities and the private merchants conspired to starve them out.

An older Co-operative Movement is found in California. The Rochdale movement was started there fully twenty years ago It experienced many vicissitudes A wholesale was organized but it failed to give substantial help. Then the Pacific Co-operative League was incorporated in 1913 as a propaganda and sustaining organization This has given decided strength to the movement. During the first four years more than 1100 associate members joined the League. In 1918 a significant move was made, the California Union of Producers and Consumers was created. The three organizations which enter into its composition are the Farmers' Educational and Co-operative Union, the Pacific Co-operative League and the California State Federation of Labor. This union of farmers, co-operative consumers, and organized workers is an indication of the sort of solidarity which should be of help to the people in their movement onward toward civilization

A group of people who have done more than any other nationality to promote Co-operation in the United States are the Finns. They have the intelligence, the solidarity and the traditions necessary for success. At Superior, Wisconsin, they have a wholesale in the midst of a group of about fifty splendid societies. Their bakeries are as near perfection as possible. In Western Massachusetts is another group of Finns. In New York City they have co-operative apartment houses, restaurants and club houses Their central bank at Fitchburg, Massachusetts, has a branch in New York It receives the deposits of the members and finances their enterprises They conduct printing houses which publish several daily papers, weeklies, and monthly magazines. From the northern States to New England are chains of these Finnish societies They have done more in developing the social, educational and recreational aspects of Co-operation than any other people. Their club houses, theatres and amusement parks represent the best America has in these expressions of Co-operation.

Other national and racial groups which have made notable progress are the Russians, Italians, Germans, Poles, Slovaks and Franco-Belgians. Besides these groups there are hundreds of isolated societies in every part of the country.

Fraternal societies which carry on life insurance and other activities have made progress also during the past fifty years.

These organizations are co-operative to a high degree. In 1918 the National Fraternal Congress was held. Societies representing over 6,000,000 members were represented. At that time there were in the United States 550 fraternal beneficiary societies, with over 9,000,000 members and nearly $10,000,000,000 of insurance in force. During 1917 nearly $100,000,000 in benefits were paid. Since 1868, these societies have paid to the families of deceased members nearly $2,500,000,000 of which amount the Ancient Order of United Workmen has paid $250,000,000. Women are prominent in the work of these societies.

One of the most successful forms of Consumers' Co-operation in the United States is seen in farmers' fire insurance. There are about 2,000 of these mutual fire insurance companies. They carry insurance exceeding $5,250,000,000 on property valued at nearly seven billion dollars. This insurance is carried at one half the rate charged by the commercial companies. The insurance is cheaper because the expenses are less and the moral hazard is largely removed.

The National Co-operative Convention at Springfield, Illinois, in 1918, under the auspices of the Co-operative League of America, was a significant event in the development of the American Movement. It brought together delegates from all parts of the country, united the co-operative forces, and set on foot the organization of an American Wholesale.[1] During the first six months after this event the League added the names of over 1,000 societies to its list.

The Co-operative Movement in America has undergone a striking revival during the past few years. In 1916 the American Federation of Labor passed strong resolutions indorsing Consumers' Co-operation and provided for the promotion of true Rochdale methods. Since that, the labor publications throughout the country have carried on an effective propaganda. The result has been as follows: The subject is brought up in union locals, a committee is appointed to get information, the committee writes to the League, advice and literature are sent, a society is organized, and a store opened. This is the natural current of events.

The Co-operative Movement in America is developing in close alliance with the Labor Movement. The indications are

[1] The Transactions of the Convention and all literature dealing with the movement may be had from the Co-operative League of America, 2 West 13th Street, New York City.

that this alliance will become stronger. It is desirable for both that it should. The Labor Party has taken a stand in favor of the Co-operative Movement. All of the indications show that these three social forces—Co-operation, organizing the consumers; Labor, organizing the workers at the point of production; and Labor in the political field—are destined to go forward together to victory.

Quietly, like a great river, the current of Co-operation sweeps on It is difficult to record its facts. The onward movement is so great that what is recorded today is left behind on the shore tomorrow. The mission of American Co-operation should be to play a large part in the drama of social reorganization, and side by side with the united forces of Co-operation of other lands, move on toward the redemption of the world.

REPORT OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON CO-OPERATION OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

Buffalo, N. Y., Nov. 17, 1917.

To the Executive Council, American Federation of Labor:

Your "Committee on Co-operation," appointed by President Samuel Gompers, in accordance with Resolution No. 86, adopted by the Baltimore Convention, November, 1916, present the following as their report:

Reversing the usual order of reports, the committee submits at the outset its recommendations. They are as follows:

1. That a qualified trade unionist co-operator be appointed by the President of the American Federation of Labor to serve one year as lecturer and adviser on the practical work of Rochdale co-operation.

2. That this appointee shall have office room in the American Federation of Labor Building in Washington, which shall be the center of information by correspondence and otherwise on the subject.

3. That he shall visit localities in which co-operative societies are in process of formation or have already been formed, and give practical information to the officers and members of such societies, making out routes of travel for this purpose so as to conserve his time and perform the work at a minimum of expense.

4. That it shall be understood that central labor unions and local trade unions as such shall not form co-operative societies, but shall appoint committees from their membership to act in co-operation with other citizens who are in sympathy with the trade union movement in assisting in the upbuilding of a general co-operative movement.

5. That every local trade union under the jurisdiction of the American Federation of Labor be requested to contribute the sum of one dollar ($1 00) in order to establish successfully the Federation bureau for promoting and advancing the cause of true co-operation in the United States and Canada.

Your committee believes the submission of this practical program to be of more value to the trade unionists of the country than an extensive survey of the co-operative movements of the world or any exhaustive dissertation on the principles of co-operation, which might be made the subject matter of a report, except to say that we have found that protests, denunciations, condemnations and investigations are alike without power to influence employers to pay the rate of wages they should pay; provide safe and healthful conditions of employment, or establish the relationship that should obtain between the employers and the workers or the reasonable hours that should constitute a day's work.

The only way we have been able to assure these conditions has been through the establishment of the trade union movement, a powerful organization of workers to enforce labor's just demands.

This is just as true of the merchants and business men as it is of the employers. Protests, denunciations, condemnations and investigations will not enable us to obtain permanently the best articles which we use in every day life for just prices.

There is nothing that will accomplish this purpose except organization, and the co-operative movement is the organization that is designed to protect the workers in their relations with the merchants and the business men in the same sense that the trade union movement protects them from the employers. The two movements are twin remedies.

If we had a thorough co-operative movement throughout America, comprising in its membership the workers thereof, there would be less need for official governmental food control agencies.

And without that kind of organization established perma-

nently to deal with this question there is no guarantee to the workers that the cost of living for them and their families will be permanently placed on the basis that should obtain, and it is for that reason that we believe that the American Federation of Labor should assist in establishing, building up and strengthening in every way possible a legitimate organization of bona fide workers in our country and Canada as part of the great world's co-operative movement: so that after the trade union movement has secured for the workers the wages that they are entitled to for the labor they perform, they may be assured in spending those wages that they will get for them their full value.

We hold that it is just as essential that a workingman should get ten dollars' worth of actual value for his wages when he spends them as it is that he should get the ten dollars that he is entitled to for the labor that he performs.

We would also recommend that the United States government be requested by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to take up the question of the co-operative movement in connection with its activities relative to the high cost of living, with a view to utilizing as far as possible, the existing co-operative organizations for immediate purposes and encouraging the creation of additional co-operative organizations where they are needed and conditions are suitable.

There has been assembled in the offices of the American Federation of Labor a considerable body of literature on the subject, among which are the standard works, reports from various countries, and lists of recent publications.

Your committee has excluded from its consideration all forms of associated work that do not fall within the strict limits of the Rochdale co-operative system

The simple principles of this system are:

1. A democratic organization;

2. One vote for each member with equality in share ownership;

3. Cash returns quarterly to members of the difference between the total amount they have paid for their purchases and the lesser total cost of these purchases to the co-operative society; including among the costs depreciation and a reasonable amount for a reserve fund to meet emergencies and extend the business.

4. Rejection of the principle of profit;

5. Current interest on loan capital;
6. Sales where possible preferable to members only;
7. Distributive co-operation to precede productive;
8. A sufficient number of retail stores to be established to assure a market before a wholesale department is created.
9. Observance of method recommended by the International Co-operative Alliance.

All the members of your committee have made the subject of co-operation the study of many years, have had personal experience in conducting or investigating co-operative societies and are acquainted with co-operation as a great world movement. In their judgment the co-operative principle and the trade union principle give rise to no hurtful interference with each other, but are mutually helpful, and each is in a degree beyond measure a factor in the economic, social, political and educational development of the wage-working masses.

(Signed) G. W. Perkins, Chairman.
J. H. Walker,
W. D. Mahon,
A. E. Holder,
J. W. Sullivan.

President Gompers: "The report just read will be referred to the Committee on Report of Executive Council."

At the recommendation of this committee the report was adopted unanimously.

SYNDICALISM, INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM AND THE I. W. W.

I. W. W. PREAMBLE

The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of working people and the few, who make up the employing class, have all the good things of life.

Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and abolish the wage system.

We find that the centering of the management of industries into fewer and fewer hands makes the trade unions unable to cope with the ever-growing power of the employing class. The trade unions foster a state of affairs which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping to defeat one another in wage wars. Moreover, the trade unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into belief that the working class have interests in common with their employers.

These conditions can be changed and the interest of the working class upheld only by an organization formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries, if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all.

Instead of the conservative motto, "A fair day's wages for a fair day's work," we must inscribe on our banner the revolutionary watchword, "Abolition of the wage system."

It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. The army of production must be organized, not only for the every-day struggle with the capitalists, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been

overthrown. By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old.

INDUSTRIAL UNION MANIFESTO

Issued by Conference of Industrial Unionists at Chicago, January 2, 3 and 4, 1905.

Social relations and groupings only reflect mechanical and industrial conditions. The great facts of present industry are the displacement of human skill by machines and the increase of capitalist power through concentration in the possession of the tools with which wealth is produced and distributed.

Because of these facts trade divisions among laborers and competition among capitalists are alike disappearing. Class divisions grow ever more fixed and class antagonisms more sharp. Trade lines have been swallowed up in a common servitude of all workers to the machines which they tend. New machines, ever replacing less productive ones, wipe out whole trades and plunge new bodies of workers into the ever-growing army of tradeless, hopeless unemployed. As human beings and human skill are displaced by mechanical progress, the capitalists need use the workers only during that brief period when muscles and nerve respond most intensely. The moment the laborer no longer yields the maximum of profits he is thrown upon the scrap pile, to starve alongside the discarded machine. A dead line has been drawn, and an age limit established, to cross which, in this world of monopolized opportunities, means condemnation to industrial death.

The worker, wholly separated from the land and the tools, with his skill of craftsmanship rendered useless, is sunk in the uniform mass of wage slaves. He sees his power of resistance broken by class divisions, perpetuated from outgrown industrial stages. His wages constantly grow less as his hours grow longer and monopolized prices grow higher. Shifted hither and thither by the demands of profit-takers, the laborer's home no longer exists. In this helpless condition he is forced to accept whatever humiliating conditions his master may impose. He is submitted to a physical and intellectual examination more searching than was the chattel slave when sold from the auction block. Laborers are no longer classified by difference in trade

skill, but the employer assigns them according to the machines to which they are attached. These divisions, far from representing differences in skill or interests among the laborers, are imposed by the employer that workers may be pitted against one another and spurred to greater exertion in the shop, and that all resistance to capitalist tyranny may be weakened by artificial distinctions.

While encouraging these outgrown divisions among the workers the capitalists carefully adjust themselves to the new conditions. They wipe out all differences among themselves and present a united front in their war upon labor. Through employers' associations, they seek to crush, with brutal force, by the injunctions of the judiciary and the use of military power, all efforts at resistance. Or when the other policy seems more profitable, they conceal their daggers beneath the Civic Federation and hoodwink and betray those whom they would rule and exploit. Both methods depend for success upon the blindness and internal dissensions of the working class. The employers' line of battle and methods of warfare correspond to the solidarity of the mechanical and industrial concentration, while laborers still form their fighting organizations on lines of long-gone trade divisions. The battles of the past emphasize this lesson. The textile workers of Lowell, Philadelphia and Fall River; the butchers of Chicago, weakened by the disintegrating effects of trade divisions; the machinists on the Santa Fé, unsupported by their fellow-workers subject to the same masters; the long-struggling miners of Colorado, hampered by lack of unity and solidarity upon the industrial battlefield, all bear witness to the helplessness and impotency of labor as at present organized.

This worn-out and corrupt system offers no promise of improvement and adaptation. There is no silver lining to the clouds of darkness and despair settling down upon the world of labor.

This system offers only a perpetual struggle for slight relief from wage slavery. It is blind to the possibilities of establishing an industrial democracy, wherein there shall be no wage slavery, but where the workers will own the tools which they operate, and the product of which they alone should enjoy.

It shatters the ranks of the workers into fragments, rendering them helpless and impotent on the industrial battlefield.

Separation of craft from craft renders industrial and financial solidarity impossible.

Union men scab upon union men; hatred of worker for worker is engendered, and the workers are delivered helpless and disintegrated into the hands of the capitalists.

Craft jealousy leads to the attempt to create trade monopolies.

Prohibitive initiation fees are established that force men to become scabs against their will. Men whom manliness or circumstances have driven from one trade are thereby fined when they seek to transfer membership to the union of a new craft.

Craft divisions foster political ignorance among the workers, thus dividing their class at the ballot box, as well as in the shop, mine and factory.

Craft unions may be and have been used to assist employers in the establishment of monopolies and the raising of prices. One set of workers are thus used to make harder the conditions of life of another body of laborers.

Craft divisions hinder the growth of class consciousness of the workers, foster the idea of harmony of interests between employing exploiter and employed slave. They permit the association of the misleaders of the workers with the capitalists in the Civic Federation, where plans are made for the perpetuation of capitalism, and the permanent enslavement of the workers through the wage system.

Previous efforts for the betterment of the working class have proven abortive because limited in scope and disconnected in action.

Universal economic evils afflicting the working class can be eradicated only by a universal working class movement. Such a movement of the working class is impossible while separate craft and wage agreements are made favoring the employer against other crafts in the same industry, and while energies are wasted in fruitless jurisdiction struggles which serve only to further the personal aggrandizement of union officials.

A movement to fulfill these conditions must consist of one great industrial union embracing all industries—providing for craft autonomy locally, industrial autonomy internationally, and working class unity generally.

It must be founded on the class struggle, and its general administration must be conducted in harmony with the recognition of the irrepressible conflict between the capitalist and the working class.

It should be established as the economic organization of the working class, without affiliation with any political party.

All power should rest in a collective membership.

Local, national and general administration, including union labels, buttons, badges, transfer cards, initiation fees and per capita tax should be uniform throughout.

All members must hold membership in the local, national or international union covering the industry in which they are employed, but transfers of membership between unions, local, national or international, should be universal.

Workingmen bringing union cards from industrial unions in foreign countries should be freely admitted into the organization.

The general administration should issue a publication representing the entire union and its principles which should reach all members in every industry at regular intervals.

A central defense fund, to which all members contribute equally, should be established and maintained.

All workers, therefore, who agree with the principles herein set forth, will meet in convention at Chicago the 27th day of June, 1905, for the purpose of forming an economic organization of the working class along the lines marked out in this manifesto.

THE PRINCIPLE OF THE INDUSTRIAL UNION [1]

The principle upon which industrial unionism takes its stand is the recognition of the never ending struggle between the employers of labor and the working class. It must educate its membership to a complete understanding of the principles and causes underlying every struggle between the two opposing classes. This self imposed drill, discipline and training will be the methods of the O. B. U.[2]

In short the Industrial Union, is bent upon forming one grand united working class organization and doing away with all the divisions that weaken the solidarity of the workers to better their conditions.

Revolutionary industrial unionism, that is the proposition that all wage workers come together in organization according to industry; the grouping of the workers in each of the

[1] From The New England Worker, July 12, 1919.
[2] One Big Union

big divisions of industry as a whole into local, national and international industrial unions; all to be interlocked, dovetailed, welded into One Big Union for all wage workers; a big union bent on aggressively forging ahead and compelling shorter hours, more wages and better conditions in and out of the work shop, and as each advance is made holding on grimly to the fresh gain with the determination to push still further forward—gaining strength from each victory and learning by every temporary setback—until the working class is able to take possession and control of the machinery, premises and materials of production right from the capitalists' hands, and to use that control to distribute the product of industry entirely among the workers and their dependents.

Revolutionary industrial unionism embraces every individual unit, section, branch and department of industry. It takes in every creed, color and nation

SYNDICALISM [1]

The world has been startled of late by the appearance of a new actor in the drama of social life. Coming at a juncture when he was least expected, the new *dramatis persona* at once upset the situation which he found and began accelerating the movement of events and passions. He came but yesterday, but his determined planning and intense action have already made it clear that he has a momentous part to play and that the development of the social drama will in no small measure depend upon what he wills and does.

This new *dramatis persona* is the Syndicalist. But a short while ago he may have been considered a peculiar product of that peculiar country, France, which has furnished the world for nearly a century with "freakish" social ideas and "fantastic" social schemes. But now no one can any longer hold that view. The Syndicalist has invaded "common-sense" England and has raised his voice in the "land of the free." He has become an international figure, and his ideas are of significance to the entire world.

Taken by surprise, however, the world has not had an opportunity as yet properly to measure the new-comer, to find out what he wants. In fact, the task is not so easy. It would

[1] By Louis Levine. North American Review. 196.9-19. July, 1913

seem that the Syndicalist really had nothing to wish that had not already been supplied. It would seem that in a world where Trade-Unionist, Social Reformer, Socialist, and Anarchist vied with one another in curing all the social evils of the times, no new brand of "ism" was possible and no room left for an "ist" of a new kind. The fact, however, cannot be argued away. the new "ist" is here and proclaims he has a new message for the world. There must be, then, something in Syndicalism which differentiates it from any other known "ism", and the question naturally arises, What is it?

In a general way the answer may be given at the very outset. Syndicalism is an attempt to combine Socialism and Trade-Unionism in a higher synthesis in which the labor unions should become the basis of Socialism, and Socialism the ideal expression of the unions. Such a synthesis necessarily presupposes certain modifications in the structure and ideas of both Socialism and Trade-Unionism, and, like every other synthesis, contains something that was not present in its constituent elements.

The Syndicalist synthesis cannot be regarded as an entirely sudden phenomenon in the world of social thought and practice. On the contrary, it can be traced back to the "International Association of Working-men" founded in 1864, and even further back to the first half of the nineteenth century when both Socialism and Trade-Unionism were making their first awkward steps. It is not at all strange that this should be so. Syndicalism is the child of peculiar conditions and of a peculiar psychology closely bound up with Socialism and Trade-Unionism. It is but natural, therefore, that it should be found in some rudimentary form in the early stages of the social movement of the nineteenth century and that the Syndicalism of to-day should be the mature fruit of seeds sown long ago.

It will be easier to understand the nature of the fruit by first analyzing the seed and by examining the environment in which it struck root and grew. The seed was the idea of Socialism. Ever since the problem of labor in its modern phase arose, in the early part of the nineteenth century, one solution offered was to solve the labor problem by dissolving the wages system. As a rule, this solution came from the so-called better, and certainly better educated, classes of society who were deeply moved by the sufferings of the working-class. Accustomed to abstract and general reasoning, these representatives of the middle classes and of the aristocracy sought for

the general causes of the social evils and found them in the institution of private property and in competition. They therefore called upon society to do away with private property and to reorganize industry on the basis of collective solidarity and collective responsibility. As a recompense for following their advice, they held out to the world the promise of a new social era in which Equality, Liberty, and Fraternity would truly reign supreme.

Born amidst the upper classes, the idea of Socialism soon swept a portion of the working-class. A number of intelligent, active, and ambitious working-men were charmed and fascinated by the grand visions of Socialism and became ardently devoted to the cause of emancipating their fellow-working-men from the "thraldom" of the wages-system. The ideal of industrial freedom, social equality, and intellectual opportunities thrilled their souls with the deepest enthusiasm, and they felt themselves to be the inspired leaders in a great historic movement which, in their opinion, was to liberate their class and to rejuvenate the world.

The militant Socialist working-man soon found out, however, that his task was not easy and that his situation was full of inner contradictions. In the Socialist organizations of all types—secret, revolutionary, educational, and so forth—which he frequented he was at all times thrown together with more or less numerous descendants of the middle class who were attracted to Socialism for various reasons and who claimed the part of intellectual leaders in the Socialist movement. These "intellectuals," as they were dubbed by the working-men, surely possessed superior lights and were better fit by training and experience for the rôle of leaders. The Socialist working-man was loath, however, to acknowledge this. Awakened to a sense of the historical importance of his class, enthused by the idea of social equality, thrilled by the sentiment of his own intellectual growth, he resented any suggestion of inequality within the Socialist ranks themselves, and watched with suspicion and ill feeling the tendency of the "intellectuals" toward leadership and predominance. He could not at all times effectively counteract it. But he was ready always to turn upon the middle-class "intellectuals," to whose intuition and reasoning he owed the idea of Socialism, and to start a movement in which his own predominance would not be threatened. This ten-

dency, on the part of the militant Socialist working-man, runs like a thread through the whole history of modern Socialism.

On the other hand, turning to his own class, the militant Socialist working-man soon convinced himself that he could not get at once the response he so hopefully expected. The large mass of the working-class was actuated by simpler and more elementary motives. It wanted some improvement right now and here, it cared more for things than for principles, it had a keener feeling for the pangs of the stomach than for the pains of the heart or brain. The Socialist working-man regretted and deplored this state of affairs, but he could not ignore it. After all, he was a working-man himself, who knew by bitter experience what it meant to be in want. He had to adapt himself, therefore, to the conditions and psychology of his class and to take an interest in their immediate demands if he wanted them to take an interest in his far-away ideal. As a rule, the mass of the workers hit independently upon the means of improving their immediate condition—means which hinged upon the idea of combination and organization, and which resulted in the rise and development of Trade-Unionism. The militant Socialist working-man was thus driven to do his share in the work of the Trade-Unions, for there was no hope for him outside the ranks of his own class.

But entering the Trade-Union, the Socialist working-man never lost sight of his ideal. Nor did he lose his impatience with existing conditions or his feverish hope to bring about his ideal as soon as possible. He was a Social Faust within whose breast two souls resided—one clinging to the sufferings and demands of his class in the present, the other sweeping "the dust of the present above into the high spaces" of Socialism in the future. But, like Faust, he was not content to have his breast rent in twain. On the contrary, he was intent upon realizing, as soon as possible, a harmonious union of the conflicting feelings, ideas, and aspirations which his peculiar economic, political, and intellectual existence called into being.

The history of the Socialist movement reveals the gropings of the militant Socialist working man for the unity just spoken of, and this is why rudimentary Syndicalist ideas may be found all along in the social movement of the nineteenth century. But before Syndicalism could assume its present developed form, it was necessary that the conditions described above should become more pronounced and accentuated. This was brought

about in the latter part of the past century by a complicated chain of economic, political, and other causes.

In the nineties of the past century the Socialists had their first big electoral successes in France, Germany, and other countries. They not only polled a large number of votes, but succeeded in electing many of their members to the national and municipal legislative bodies. The result was a change in the composition and character of the Socialist parties. The latter were everywhere invaded by large and new sections of the middle class, particularly by representatives of the liberal professions such as doctors, lawyers, teachers, and so forth, who swamped the Socialist working-men in all positions of authority and responsibility in the Socialist party, Socialist press, and Socialist parliamentary groups. The invading "intellectuals" carried with them their group feelings, their habits of mind, and their methods of procedure They introduced into the Socialist movement the ideas of slow evolutionary changes, of a gradual "growing-in" into Socialism, of peaceful and diplomatic negotiations with "capitalist" political parties They extolled the importance and influence of legislative bodies in which they could display their general knowledge, oratorical powers, and resplendent qualities. In a word, they imparted to Socialism that exclusively political and legislative character--smooth and moderate—which has in recent years both surprised and soothed the world

At the same time the political Socialists were not slow to show their intention of subordinating the economic organizations of the working-class to the political party. To the political Socialist the Trade-Union could not but appear as a secondary organization which wrangles with employers over minor matters and which is insignificant in comparison with the great political organization. The political Socialist could value the Trade-Union mainly as a field for recruiting new Socialist converts and could expect nothing more from an organization which, in his opinion, was to disappear after the triumph of Socialism and which could play but a subordinate part in the movement toward Socialist victory to be brought about by capturing the political machinery of the State.

The change in the character of Socialism- its marked evolution in the direction of an exclusively political, peaceful, and legal movement—blazed into fire the embers of discontent which had slumbered in the breast of the militant Socialist working-

man. The latter was alarmed by the success of political Socialism, which, in his opinion, was dangerous to the real success of the Social Revolution. The militant working-man suspected the environment of Parliament, its methods and political trickery, and felt in his heart a growing antagonism to a form of action which led the Socialists into the stifling embrace of "capitalist" parliamentary institutions. The militant Socialist working-man therefore began to look about for another form of social movement which would embody his revolutionary spirit, preserve his hope of a speedy emancipation, and secure for him equality within the organization. He had groped for such a movement for years and years. He had organized secret revolutionary societies, he had tried Socialist co-operatives, he had attempted open revolt. But his previous attempts had been unsuccessful, and, furthermore, former methods were no longer applicable under the new conditions of the latter part of the nineteenth century. The militant working-man saw that the development of democracy and the expansion of industry had made necessary a form of organization which would be broad enough to include large masses and flexible enough to be capable of both political and economic action Examining more closely the nature of the Trade-Union in which he had always played some part, the militant Socialist working-man was struck by the idea that it offered the form of organization he was so eagerly looking for and that it was capable of carrying on the social movement in which he placed his hopes He therefore now changed his former attitude to the Trade-Union; instead of merely suffering it, he now began actively to support it and to shape it in accordance with his views and aspirations.

By a process of careful reasoning and under the influence of experience the militant Socialist working-man gradually developed the whole theory of Syndicalism in which the Syndicat—or labor union—is the basis, end, and means The Syndicat—according to this theory—is the organization which first brings the working-men together, binds them by ties of common interest, develops in them the sentiment of solidarity, and consolidates them into a coherent self-conscious class. Organized in the Syndicats, the working-men are in a position to enter into a direct struggle with employers and the State for better conditions of life and work. Direct action—which the Syndicalists so much insist upon—consists in exerting energetic pressure and coercion on the employers and the State in such a

manner as to rally all the workers around one banner in direct opposition to existing institutions. Nation-wide strikes, vehement agitation, public demonstrations, and like procedures, which arouse passions and shake up the mass of the working-men, are in the view of the Syndicalists the only methods which can make the working-men clearly perceive the evils and contradictions of present-day society and which lead to material successes. Such methods alone drive home to the working-men the truth that the emancipation of the workers must and can be the work of the workers themselves, and free the latter from the illusion that anybody else—even their representatives in Parliament—can do the job for them. By constantly bringing working-men into open and sharp conflict with employers, Direct Action, in all its manifestations, necessarily undermines the foundations of existing society and fortifies the position of the working-class. Every successful strike, every victory of labor—when gained by energetic pressure and Direct Action—is regarded by the Syndicalists as a blow directed against capitalism and as a strategic point occupied by the workers on their way toward final emancipation. Reforms, therefore, gained and upheld by Direct Action do not strengthen existing society, but, on the contrary, dilapidate it and pave the way for a complete and violent social transformation.

The latter, in the opinion of the Syndicalists, is inevitable. The direct struggles of the Syndicats—argue they—increasing in scope and importance, must finally lead to a decisive collision in which the two antagonistic classes—the working-class and the employers—will be brought face to face. How that decisive struggle will be begun cannot be foretold. But it most probably will have its origin in a strike which, spreading from industry to industry and from locality to locality, will involve the whole country and affect the entire nation This will be the General Strike, in which the issue will not be an increase of wages or any other minor matter, but the paramount social issue: who shall henceforth control industry and direct the economic activities of the nation?

The Syndicalists will not wait for Parliament to decide that question, but will take matters into their own hands. When the "final hour of emancipation" strikes, the militant working-men organized in the Syndicats will step in and assume control of all means of production, transportation, and exchange. They will proclaim the common ownership of all means of produc-

tion, and will start production under the direction of the Syndicats. Every Syndicat will have the use of the means of production necessary for carrying on its work. All Syndicats of a locality will be organized in local federations which will have charge of all local industrial matters. These local Federations of Labor will collect statistics pertaining to local production and consumption, will provide the raw material, and will act as intermediaries between a locality and the rest of the country. All Syndicats of the country in any one industry will be organized in a National Industrial Federation having charge of the special interests of the industry, while local federations and industrial federations will be organized in one great National Federation of Labor which will take care of matters national in scope and importance.

This ideal, according to the Syndicalists, is not a scheme or a Utopia whose realization depends upon the good-will or wisdom of any individual or individuals. It is a social system gradually evolved by the Syndicalist movement and gradually prepared by the social struggles of to-day. The framework of the ideal organization is being built every day by the growth of organization among the working-men, by the ever-spreading network of Syndicats, local, industrial, and national federations. And the intellectual and moral qualities necessary for controlling society are gradually acquired by the working-men in their organizations, in their struggle, and in their every-day experiences.

Here, in this theory, the militant working-man finally achieved the synthesis he was groping for. The Syndicat—or labor union—kept out the middle class "intellectual," barred the politician, and made compromise impossible. On the other hand, it secured the leadership of the revolutionary working-man, brought him into a direct struggle with employers and the State, and offered him the image of his future ideal society. It prominently held before him the fact that his salvation lay in his own hands, in the weapons forged by himself, in Direct Action and the General Strike. The Syndicalist working-man could, therefore, now counteract the "pernicious" influence of the political Socialist and work for the social revolution in his own way and through his own organizations. The cause of the working-men was now in safe hands, and his profound yearning for a speedy social emancipation was gratified.

There are several reasons why Syndicalism first developed

in France and why it achieved there its most notable success. France, before other countries, witnessed those changes in the character of Socialism which were described above. France was the first country to have a Socialist Minister, M. Millerand, and to reveal the "demoralizing" effects of Parliament on the Socialists. France, besides, is rich in revolutionary traditions which at all times fed the revolutionary feelings of the militant working-men. Thirdly, the French Syndicats began to develop only at the time when Socialism was becoming insufficient for the militant working-men, and the latter had therefore little difficulty in capturing the Syndicats When the General Confederation of Labor *(La Confédération Générale du Travail)* was formed in 1895, it was soon brought under the combined influence of Socialist and Anarchist working-men, who steered the organization in the direction of revolutionary methods and Syndicalist ideas The success of the General Confederation was due to their energetic action and devotion, and the influence of their ideas grew in consequence. The General Confederation has grown steadily since 1902, and has now about 500,000 members. It consists of local and industrial federations which in their turn are composed of single Syndicats, and presents, from the Syndicalists' point of view, the embryo of the future society.

In England the situation is somewhat different Syndicalist's ideas had their exponents among English working-men before, and a Syndicalist paper, *The Voice of Labor,* was published in 1907. But Syndicalism did not make headway in England until Tom Mann, an experienced labor-leader, was converted to the new ideas. Tom Mann had spent some years in the labor movement of Australia, and was disappointed by the slowness, uncertainty, and trickery of the political game which the Australian working-men played in the hope of achieving their ends. He then went to France and underwent there the influence of the Syndicalists. Since then Tom Mann has been actively propagating Syndicalist ideas in England. He started a monthly, the *Industrial Syndicalist,* in 1910, and under his influence a Syndicalist organization, "The Industrial Syndicalist Education League," was formed in Manchester toward the end of 1910. The "Syndicalist Education League" is now publishing *The Syndicalist*—a monthly devoted to the propaganda of Syndicalism in England. The new ideas have found numerous adherents, particularly among the working-

men of the building trades, the transport-workers, and the miners. In November, 1910, the English Syndicalists held their first conference in Manchester at which 60,000 workers were represented. Since then their numbers have undoubtedly increased and new industrial groups have been gained. The recent strikes in England show that at least Syndicalist forms of organization and methods are forced upon the working-men by the powerful combinations of employers and by the rather ambiguous policy of the Government. The further development of Syndicalism in England will depend on the success with which the convinced Syndicalists will be able to "bore from within" and to steer the Trade-Unions in the direction of the new doctrine, while the success of their efforts will depend on economic and political conditions.

In America the specter of Syndicalism first appeared in the Lawrence strike. The American Syndicalists, the Industrial Workers of the World, who directed the strike in Lawrence, have been attracting more and more attention since and have been trying to make Syndicalism a factor in American life. American Syndicalism should not be regarded as an importation from France. Of course, American Syndicalists have been more or less in contact with French Syndicalists, but the movement has grown up on American soil and can be traced back to the Knights of Labor. The latter had already formed a vague idea of industrial organization which is so actively propagated by the Industrial Workers of the World. Craft Unionism, however, carried the day in America after 1886, and achieved marked success in the development of the American Federation of Labor. The idea of Industrial Unionism, nevertheless, never died out, and in recent years has been gaining ground under the influence of favorable economic conditions. Finding support among Socialist working-men, the idea of Industrial Unionism was combined with the Socialist conception, and a theory resembling French Syndicalism in the most essential points was the result. This theory was made the basis of the programme adopted by the I. W. W. in 1905.

The Industrial Workers of the World differ, however, from the French Syndicalists in their attitude toward the General Strike. The former conceive the Social Revolution not as a stoppage from work, but as a "staying at work."[1] According

[1] There is, however, a growing number of Industrial Workers who defend the idea of the Social General Strike.

to this idea the working-men will one day declare the means of production common property, but, instead of leaving the factories, will stay there to continue production on a Socialist basis. The difference, however, is rather verbal, for any act having for its purpose such a tremendous change will lead to the interruption of industrial activities at least for some time. The I. W. W. are, besides, more in favor of passive resistance and of other forms of struggle which, though less demonstrative and noisy than the methods of the French Syndicalists, are believed to give the workers a strategic advantage over employers.

Syndicalism is primarily a working-class movement having for its end the solution of the labor problem. But its plans are so far-reaching and involve such profound social changes that society as a whole is necessarily affected. What has, then, Syndicalism to offer to those classes of society which are not occupied in manual labor?

The Syndicalists have recently given some attention to this problem. They have solved it by extending the meaning of labor so as to include all productive work. Teachers, doctors, artists, clerks, and the like have been organized into Syndicats and have joined the army of organized workers. The Syndicalists propose to organize in the same way all those who do some useful work for society, or, as they express it, to "Syndicalize" society. Their idea is to transform society into a federation of self-governing productive groups working together for the benefit of all with instruments belonging to society as a whole and under the supreme control of the community.

From the political point of view, therefore, Syndicalism must be regarded as an attempt to transform the existing political state into an industrial federation. Syndicalism hopes thereby to do away with the arbitrary and coercive aspects of the modern State and to inaugurate an era of expert public service when every man will do his share of the work of society in that field alone in which his knowledge and skill are greatest.

Syndicalism is ready to fight any organization opposed to it and ambitious to absorb all that are friendly to it. It must, therefore, necessarily arouse the hostility not only of the conservative elements of society, but even of reformers and political Socialists.

THE STANDPOINT OF SYNDICALISM[1]

The standpoint of Syndicalism is clear and definite. Syndicalism expressly denies the possibility of industrial peace under existing conditions, frankly proclaims its determination to carry on industrial warfare as long as the present economic system exists, and firmly believes that only the realization of its own program will establish industrial peace on a permanent and secure basis.

Syndicalism arrives at its first conclusion by an analysis of existing economic conditions. The fact which is untiringly emphasized in the Syndicalist analysis is the objective antagonistic position of those engaged in modern industry. The owners of the means of production directly or indirectly running their business for their private ends are interested in ever-increasing profits and in higher returns. The workingmen, on the other hand, who passively carry on productive operations are anxious to obtain the highest possible price for their labor-power which is their only source of livelihood. Between these two economic categories friction is inevitable, because profits ever feed on wages, while wages incessantly encroach upon profits, and because the passive wage earners shake off now and then their submissiveness and reach out for more control over industrial conditions, while the owners and directors of industry resent the interference of the workers.

From this twofold antagonism, rooted in the structure of modern economic society, struggle must ever spring anew, and this is the reason why all schemes and plans to avoid industrial conflicts fail so lamentably. Even the conservative trades unions, based on the idea that the interests of labor and capital are identical, are forced by circumstances to act contrary to their own profession of faith. Organizations, like the Civic Federation, are doomed to impotency. Boards of conciliation and arbitration work most unsatisfactorily and can show but few and insignificant results. If arbitration is once in a while successfully resorted to, it is only when the menace of a great and dangerous industrial conflict stares the community in the face. But the threat of a strike is as much a manifestation of industrial peace, as the mobilization of troops on the frontier is a manifestation of international peace.

[1] By Louis Levine. Annals of the American Academy. 44:114-19. November, 1912.

It is preposterous—argue the Syndicalists—to attribute the acute character of our industrial conflicts to "pernicious agitators," socialists, anarchists, and "turbulent" individuals generally. Would a miracle still be possible in our sceptical age, and should all these "undesirable" elements be rushed to Heaven on a fiery chariot, our world would still remain a battleground of opposed interests. One must ignore the elementary facts of human psychology to believe that a few individuals, however gifted and energetic, could move large masses of men to action unless the conditions in which these masses lived prompted them to follow these leaders. And one must be blinded by hopeless optimism to believe that all the employers will one day become benevolent and "inspired" and will joyfully hand out to the workers all that the latter may demand, thus removing all occasions for mutual ill feeling and conflict.

The most that can be achieved by benevolent effort as long as the basis of modern economic life remains unchanged is to mitigate now and then the violent character of the industrial struggle and to ward off a conflict here and there. But the result is hardly commensurate with the energy spent, while the principal aim of these efforts—industrial security and peace is not attained. As is shown by experience, conflict mitigated once becomes more violent the next time, and warded off at one point breaks out at ten other points. All efforts, therefore, to establish industrial peace under existing conditions result at best in the most miserable kind of social patchwork which but reveals in more striking nudity the irreconcilable contradictions inherent in modern economic organization.

There is but one logical conclusion from the point of view of Syndicalism. If industrial peace is made impossible by modern economic institutions, the latter must be done away with and industrial peace must be secured by a fundamental change in social organization. At the root of the struggle between capital and labor is the private ownership of the means of production which results in the autocratic or oligarchic direction of industry and in inequality of distribution. The way to secure industrial peace is to remove the fundamental cause of industrial war, that is, to make the means of production common property, to put the management of industry on a truly democratic basis and to equalize distribution.

In general terms the program of Syndicalism may not seem to differ in any respect from that of socialism, and, in fact,

socialism and Syndicalism have many points in common. Yet there is an essential difference. The Syndicalist analysis of modern society emphasizes a point which is not prominent in socialism and which leads to important differences in their constructive programs. That point is the question of control. While the socialist lays emphasis on what he considers the exploitation-features of capitalistic society, the Syndicalist lays no less emphasis on the relations of authority and freedom in economic life, on the aspect of direction and management in industry. The Syndicalist finds that this is one of the sources of industrial troubles in the present, and he is convinced that a proper solution of this aspect of the social problem is essential for industrial peace. He can not agree with the socialist that the concentration of the economic functions of society in the hands of the state represented by a government elected on the basis of territorial representation is the proper and adequate solution of the problem. The Syndicalist distrusts the state and believes that political forms and institutions have outlived their usefulness and can not be adapted to new social relations. The Syndicalist program for the future, in so far as it is definite and clear, contains the outlines of an industrial society—the basis of which is the industrial union and the subdivisions of which are federations of unions and federations of federations. The direction of industry, in this ideal system, is decentralized in such a manner that each industrial part of society has the control only of those economic functions for the intelligent performance of which it is especially fitted by experience, training, and industrial position.

The Syndicalist is convinced that until his program is carried out, industrial peace is impossible. To one who believes in the eternal character of existing economic institutions such a pessimistic conclusion could not but be a source of grief and regret. But the Syndicalist, guided by the idea of social revolution, feels differently. While he may regret the suffering and social disturbance which follow in the train of industrial struggles, he sees in the latter another aspect which is to him a source of gratification and hope. This other aspect is what he considers the organizing and constructive power of the industrial struggle—its creative force.

The creative force of the industrial struggle, according to the Syndicalist, manifests itself in a series of economic and moral phenomena which, taken together, must have far-reach-

ing results. In the struggle for higher wages and better conditions of work the workingmen are led to see the important part they play in the mechanism of production and to resent more bitterly the opposition to their demands on the part of employers. With the intensification of the struggle, the feeling of resentment develops into a desire for emancipation from the conditions which make oppression possible; in other words, it grows into complete class consciousness which consists not merely in the recognition of the struggle of classes but also in the determination to abolish the class-character of society. At the same time the struggle necessarily leads the workingmen to effect a higher degree of solidarity among themselves, to develop their moral qualities, and to fortify and consolidate their organizations. The stronger the latter become, the more do they assert themselves in the economic struggle, and the more evident does it become to the workers that their organizations could readily supplant the organizations of the capitalists and assume the control of the economic life of society.

It is evident that unless the Syndicalist could theoretically connect the struggles of the present with his ideal of the future, the latter would remain a beautiful but idle dream even in theory. For the Syndicalist, as has been said, does not believe in the efficacy of benevolent intentions, nor does he think the power of mere abstract ideas sufficient for transforming society. He is bound, therefore, to find concrete social forces working for the realization of his ideal. His position forces him to prove that his ideal is the expression of the interests of a definite class, that it is gradually being accepted by that class under the pressure of circumstances, and that the social destinies of the "revolutionary" class are more and more identified with the Syndicalist ideal In the theory above outlined the Syndicalist believes he has solved his problem and has found the connecting link between his analysis of the present and his outlook for the future.

Having thus defined the significance of the industrial struggle, the Syndicalist is led to lay down rules of practical activity in accordance with his theory. He cheerfully accepts the conclusion that if industrial strife is creating social harmony his task is to intensify the struggle, to widen its scope, and to perfect its methods—in order that the creative force of the struggle may manifest itself as thoroughly and on as large a scale as possible. He, therefore, logically, assumes a hostile

attitude towards all efforts tending to mitigate the industrial struggle, such as conciliation and arbitration, and definitely enters the economic arena for the purpose of stirring up strife and of accentuating the struggle as much as is in his power.

To those who are anxious to bring about peace between labor and capital on the basis of existing economic and legal institutions, the Syndicalist must necessarily appear as a disturbing factor in the situation. The Syndicalist will not deny this nor will he be forced to change his attitude either by denunciation or by persecution. From his own standpoint, the Syndicalist believes that he is merely sincere in looking facts in the face, logical in drawing the proper conclusions from them, and rationally optimistic in seeing through the mist of the contradictory present the rising sun of a socially harmonious future.

DEMOCRACY AND DIRECT ACTION[1]

The battle for political democracy has been won: white men everywhere are to live under the regime of parliamentary government. Russia, which for the present is trying a new form of constitution, will probably be led by internal or external pressure to adopt the system favored by the Western powers.

But even before this contest was decided a new one was seen to be beginning. The form of government in the United States, Britain, and France is a capitalistic or plutocratic democracy: the democracy which exists in the political sphere finds no counterpart in the economic world. The struggle for economic democracy seems likely to dominate politics for many years to come. The Russian government, which cares nothing for the forms of political democracy, stands for a very extreme form of economic democracy. A strong and apparently growing party in Germany has similar aims. Of opinion in France I know nothing, but in this country the workers who desire to obtain control of industries subject to state ownership, though not sufficiently strong numerically to have much influence on the personnel of Parliament, are nevertheless able through organization in key industries to exert a powerful pressure on the government and to cause fear of industrial upheavals to become widespread throughout the middle and

[1] By Bertrand Russell. Dial. 66:445-8. May 3, 1919.

upper classes. We have thus the spectacle of opposition between a new democratically-elected Parliament and the sections of the nation which consider themselves the most democratic. In such circumstances many friends of democracy become bewildered and grow perplexed as to the aims they ought to pursue or the party with which they ought to sympathize.

The time was when the idea of parliamentary government inspired enthusiasm, but that time is past. Already before the war legislation had come to be more and more determined by contests between interests outside the legislature, bringing pressure to bear directly upon the government. This tendency has been much accelerated The view which prevails in the ranks of organized labor—and not only there—is that Parliament exists merely to give effect to the decision of the government, while those decisions themselves, so far from representing any settled policy, embody nothing but the momentary balance of forces and the compromise most likely to secure temporary peace. The weapon of labor in these contests is no longer the vote, but the threat of a strike—"direct action." It was the leaders of the Confédération Générale du Travail during the twenty years preceding the war who first developed this theory of the best tactics for labor. But it is experience rather than theory that has led to its widespread adoption—the experience largely of the untrustworthiness of parliamentary Socialist leaders and of the reactionary social forces to which they are exposed

To the traditional doctrine of democracy there is something repugnant in this whole method. Put crudely and nakedly the position is this: the organized workers in a key industry can inflict so much hardship upon the community by a strike that the community is willing to yield to their demands things which it would never yield except under the threat of force. This may be represented as the substitution of the private force of a minority in place of law as embodying the will of the majority. On this basis a very formidable indictment of direct action can be built up.

There is no denying that direct action involves grave dangers, and if abused may theoretically lead to very bad results In this country, when (in 1917) organized labor wished to send delegates to Stockholm, the Seamen's and Firemen's Union prevented them from doing so, with the enthusiastic approval of the capitalistic press Such interferences of minorities with the

freedom of action of majorities are possible; it is also possible for majorities to interfere with the legitimate freedom of minorities. Like all use of force. whether inside or outside the law, direct action makes tyranny possible. And if one were anxious to draw a gloomy picture of terrors ahead one might prophesy that certain well-organized vital industries—say the Triple Alliance of Miners, Railwaymen, and Transport Workers—would learn to combine, not only against the employers, but against the community as a whole. We shall be told that this will happen unless a firm stand is made now. We shall be told that, if it does happen, the indignant public will have, sooner or later, to devote itself to the organization of blacklegs, in spite of the danger of civil disturbance and industrial chaos that such a course would involve. No doubt such dangers would be real if it could be assumed that organized labor is wholly destitute of common sense and public spirit. But such an assumption could never be made except to flatter the fears of property-owners Let us leave nightmares on one side and come to the consideration of the good and harm that are actually likely to result in practice from the increasing resort to direct action as a means of influencing government.

Many people speak and write as though the beginning and end of democracy were the rule of the majority. This, for example, is the view of Professor Hearnshaw in his recent book Democracy at the Cross-Ways. But this is far too mechanical a view. It leaves out of account two questions of great importance, namely: (1) What should be the group of which the majority is to prevail? (2) What are the matters with which the majority has a right to interfere? Right answers to these questions are essential if nominal democracy is not to develop into a new and more stable form of tyranny, for minorities and subordinate groups have the right to live, and must not be internally subject to the malice of hostile masses.

The first question is familiar in one form, namely that of nationality. It is recognized as contrary to the theory of democracy to combine into one state a big nation and a small one, when the small nation desires to be independent. To allow votes to the citizens of the small nation is no remedy, since they can always be outvoted by the citizens of the large nation. The popularly elected legislature, if it is to be genuinely democratic, must represent one nation; or, if more are to be represented, it must be by a federal arrangement which safeguards

the smaller units. A legislature should exist for defined purposes, and should cover a larger or smaller area according to the nature of those purposes. At this moment, when an attempt is being made to create a League of Nations for certain objects, this point does not need emphasizing.

But it is not only geographical units, such as nations, that have a right, according to the true theory of democracy, to autonomy for certain purposes. Just the same principle applies to any group which has important internal concerns that affect the members of the group enormously more than they affect outsiders. The coal trade, for example, might legitimately say: "What concerns the community is the quantity and price of the coal that we supply. But our conditions and hours of work, the technical methods of our production, and the share of the produce that we choose to allow to the land-owners and capitalists who at present own and manage the collieries, all these are internal concerns of the coal trade, in which the general public has no right to interfere. For these purposes we demand an internal parliament, in which those who are interested as owners and capitalists may have one vote each, but no more." If such a demand were put forward it would be as impossible to resist on democratic grounds as the demand for autonomy on the part of a small nation. Yet it is perfectly clear that the coal trade could not induce the community to agree to such a proposal, especially where it infringes the "rights of property," unless it were sufficiently well organized to be able to do grave injury to the community in the event of its proposal's being rejected—just as no small nation except Norway, so far as my memory serves me, has ever obtained independence from a large one to which it was subject, except by war or the threat of war.

The fact is that democracies, as soon as they are well established, are just as jealous of power as other forms of government. It is therefore necessary, if subordinate groups are to obtain their rights, that they shall have some means of bringing pressure to bear upon the government. The Benthamite theory, upon which democracy is still defended by some doctrinaires, was that each voter would look after his own interest, and in the resultant each man's interest would receive its proportionate share of attention. But human nature is neither so rational nor so self-centered as Bentham imagined. In practice it is easier, by arousing hatred and jealousies, to induce men

to vote against the interests of others than to persuade them to vote for their own interests. In the recent General Election in this country very few electors remembered their own interests at all. They voted for the man who showed the loudest zeal for hanging the Kaiser, not because they imagined they would be richer if he were hanged but as an expression of disinterested hatred. This is one of the reasons why autonomy is important: in order that, as far as possible, no group shall have its internal concerns determined for it by those who hate it. And this result is not secured by the mere *form* of democracy; it can only be secured by careful devolution of special powers to special groups, so as to secure, as far as possible, that legislation shall be inspired by the self-interest of those concerned, not by the hostility of those not concerned.

This brings us to the second of the two questions mentioned above—a question which is, in fact, closely bound up with the first. Our second question was: What are the matters with which the democracy has a right to interfere? It is now generally recognized that religion, for example, is a question with which no government should interfere. If a Mahometan comes to live in England we do not think it right to force him to profess Christianity. This is a comparatively recent change; three centuries ago, no state recognized the right of the individual to choose his own religion. (Some other personal rights have been longer recognized: a man may choose his own wife, though in Christian countries he must not choose more than one.) When it ceased to be illegal to hold that the earth goes round the sun, it was not made illegal to believe that the sun goes round the earth. In such matters it has been found, with intense surprise, that personal liberty does not entail anarchy. Even the sternest supporters of the rule of the majority would not hold that the Archbishop of Canterbury ought to turn Buddhist if Parliament ordered him to do so. And Parliament does not, as a rule, issue orders of this kind, largely because it is known that the resistance would be formidable and that it would have support in public opinion.

In theory, the formula as to legitimate interference is simple. A democracy has a right to interfere with those of the affairs of a group which intimately concern people outside the group, but not with those which have comparatively slight effects outside the group. In practice, this formula may sometimes be difficult to apply, but often its application is clear.

If, for example, the Welsh wish to have their elementary education conducted in Welsh, that is a matter which concerns them so much more intimately than anyone else that there can be no good reason why the rest of the United Kingdom should interfere. Thus the theory of democracy demands a good deal more than the mere mechanical supremacy of the majority. It demands. (1) division of the community into more or less autonomous groups; (2) delimitation of the powers of the autonomous groups by determining which of their concerns are so much more important to themselves than to others that others had better have no say in them Direct action may, in most cases, be judged by these tests. In an ideal democracy industries or groups of industries would be self-governing as regards almost everything except the price and quantity of their product, and their self-government would be democratic. Measures which they would then be able to adopt autonomously they are now justified in extorting from the government by direct action. At present the extreme limit of imaginable official concession is a conference in which the men and the employers are represented equally, but this is very far from democracy, since the men are much more numerous than the employers. *This* application of majority-rule is abhorrent to those who invoke majority-rule against direct-actionists; yet it is absolutely in accordance with the principles of democracy. It must at best be a long and difficult process to procure formal self-government for industries. Meanwhile they have the same right that belongs to oppressed national groups, the right of securing the substance of autonomy by making it difficult and painful to go against their wishes in matters primarily concerning themselves. So long as they confine themselves to such matters, their action is justified by the strictest principles of theoretical democracy, and those who decry it have been led by prejudice to mistake the empty form of democracy for its substance.

Certain practical limitations, however, are important to remember. In the first place, it is unwise for a section to set out to extort concessions from the government by force, if *in the long run* public opinion will be on the side of the government For a government backed by public opinion will be able, in a prolonged struggle, to defeat any subordinate section. In the second place, it is important to render every struggle of this kind, when it does occur, a means of educating the public opinion by making facts known which would otherwise remain more

or less hidden. In a large community most people know very little about the affairs of other groups than their own. The only way in which a group can get its concerns widely known is by affording "copy" for the newspapers, and by showing itself sufficiently strong and determined to command respect. When these conditions are fulfilled, even if it is force that is brought to bear upon the *government,* it is persuasion that is brought to bear upon the *community* And in the long run no victory is secure unless it rests upon persuasion, and employs force at most as a means to persuasion.

The mention of the press and its effect on public opinion suggests a direction in which direct action has sometimes been advocated, namely to counteract the capitalist bias of almost all great newspapers. One can imagine compositors refusing to set up some statement about trade-union action which they know to be directly contrary to the truth. Or they might insist on setting up side by side a statement of the case from the trade-union standpoint. Such a weapon, if it were used sparingly and judiciously, might do much to counteract the influence of the newspapers in misleading public opinion. So long as the capitalist system persists, more newspapers are bound to be capitalist ventures and to present "facts," in the main, in the way that suits capitalistic interests. A strong case can be made out for the use of direct action to counteract this tendency. But it is obvious that very grave dangers would attend such a practice if it became common. A censorship of the press by trade unionists would, in the long run, be just as harmful as any other censorship. It is improbable, however, that the method could be carried to such extremes, since if it were a special set of blackleg compositors would be trained up, and no others would gain admission to the offices of capitalist newspapers. In this case, as in others, the dangers supposed to belong to the method of direct action are largely illusory, owing to the natural limitations of its effectiveness.

Direct action may be employed: (1) for amelioration of trade conditions within the present economic system; (2) for economic reconstruction, including the partial or complete abolition of the capitalist system; (3) for political ends, such as altering the form of government, extension of the suffrage, or amnesty for political prisoners Of these three no one nowadays would deny the legitimacy of the first, except in exceptional circumstances. The third, except for purposes of es-

tablishing democracy where it does not exist, seems a dubious expedient if democracy, in spite of its faults, is recognized as the best practicable form of government; but in certain cases, for example where there has been infringement of some important right such as free speech, it may be justifiable. The second of the above uses of the strike, for the fundamental change of the economic system, has been made familiar by the French Syndicalists. It seems fairly certain that, for a considerable time to come, the main struggle in Europe will be between capitalism and some form of Socialism, and it is highly probable that in this struggle the strike will play a great part. To introduce democracy into industry by any other method would be very difficult. And the principle of group autonomy justifies this method so long as the rest of the community opposes self-government for industries which desire it. Direct action has its dangers, but so has every vigorous form of activity. And in our recent realization of the importance of law we must not forget that the greatest of all dangers to a civilization is to become stereotyped and stagnant. From this danger, at least, industrial unrest is likely to save us.

THE DOGMA OF "DIRECT ACTION"[1]

Only a "documented" history of Labour movements, such as they now produce in France, will ever tell anything like the whole story of the movement for "direct action" in the area of modern Socialism. All that the outsider can broadly discern is that it is an intelligible reaction, apparently arising in France, from the old Marxist precept of waiting for the coming Socialist majority and then scientifically reshaping society. So far from hinting at "direct action," the original Marxist gospel did not contemplate even a participation in any legislative measures of social reform. The faithful were simply to wait till the inevitable worsening of things under the capitalistic system brought about the "general overturn;" whereupon, having attained their majority, the Socialists would take charge. Perhaps the Old Guard in recent years began to contemplate a consummation without a preface of social collapse; but they were still merely critics of a doomed social system.

[1] By the Right Hon. J. M. Robertson. Everyman. 14:445-6. August 16, 1919.

In Germany, the double result of that attitude was, on the one hand, a revival of practical trade unionism among workers who wanted some betterment in their lifetime; and, on the other hand, a movement for practical "palliative" action within the Socialist party proper. As a result of that policy, the Social Democrats were obtaining before the war rapidly increasing gains in the elections, many people supporting the Socialist ticket because, for one thing, it included a demand for reduced food duties. But in France, where the "high" Marxian doctrine was never calculated to win great headway; and where the gifted and much beloved Jaurès stood for a policy of graduated progress, as against the Old Guard of Bebel, the impatient type of idealist began to cry, "A plague o' both your houses," and to insist that Labour has at any moment the power in its hands to impose its will on the world if it will but confederate and organise. "No more waiting for the parliamentary majority; no more patient propaganda: instead of trying to set up a Labour Ministry, dictate to the existing Ministry and the existing society the minimum of Labour's demands. If they are refused, resort to the universal strike; that will compel them to surrender." Such is, in outline, the latter-day ideal.

Obviously, the affinities of such a doctrine are with Anarchism rather than with Socialism. Anarchism, of course, had always its two wings, the "idealist" and the "realist," one preaching an incredible but innocent Utopia; the other savagely planning to clear the ground for it. The title of Anarchist thus covered some of the most benign and some of the most ruthless men in the world; the one thing they had in common being a dream of a complete social disintegration, which was simply to be followed by a fresh integration. For a time the group of wreckers, like a wolf at large, sought to terrorise Europe by desperate crimes. But the wolf cannot long hold his own in an organised society, and Anarchism of all sorts gradually ebbed out. It is partly to that old inspiration, however, that we may ascribe the new doctrine of Direct Action, which so resembles Anarchism in respect of determination to impose a revolutionary ideal on an unprepared society, and of total unpreparedness to organise a new society, save by hand-to-hand methods.

We are told, of course, that the party of Direct Action has a programme—a policy, to begin with, of nationalisation of

certain industries, such as mines and railways. But that programme is no more advanced in detail than was the Anarchist dream of a new "archism"; and meantime the existing system is to be paralysed by the instrument of the universal strike. To bring a society to a standstill by way of compelling it to organise at once upon new lines, is a policy of Anarchism, in the sense that that must be the result For those, of course, who see social order and progress in the Bolshevik despotism in Russia, with its Red Guards and Chinese police, and its rapid pauperisation of a vast aggregate of peoples, the new war-cry may be full of promise. But we have only to conceive any committee of British Labourists and Socialists taking charge of a headlong scheme of nationalisation of mines and land and railways, with an eye to speedy nationalisation of everything else—we have only to conceive that experiment in order to realise how anarchy invariably follows on the violent transformation of any social system whatever For societies subsist progressively only by means of a working agreement among the majority; and the movement of Direct Action is really the scheme of a minority who hope to effect their ends by somehow persuading or seeming to persuade a docile mass of workers to accept their leadership.

Sane Socialists have long ere this seen that their ideal is set at nought by all separatist movements which despise common legislative action The trouble began when "class war" became a general watchword of Socialist propaganda. Those who could not see the tragic absurdity of preaching a gospel of class hatred in the name of social solidarity were the natural raw material of Syndicalism on the one hand and the movement of Direct Action on the other. A Socialist who could see that Syndicalism (with its ideal of "Every trade for itself") was the negation of Socialism, could hardly fail to see further that Direct Action must mean only social tyranny with a difference. When an organisation of workers passes from the simple ideal of Trade Unionism (under which an industrial group makes its bargains with employers in general, and looks after its legislative interests) to an ideal of collective Trade Unionism, using the general strike as an instrument not merely against the employer, but against the whole social and political system, it is proposing to pass at a stride from a kind of action which is well within the comprehension of its leaders to one that is outside their power of management. Efficient Trade

Unionism is the result of generations of constant experiment, involving many ups and downs. The ideal of Direct Action means either an arbitrary combination of Trade Unions to manage a new socio-political system of which there has been no experience, or a chronic convulsion by means of which a scared legislature is to carry out orders for which it has no plans.

Now, if the advocates of Direct Action have any real faith in the principle of government by majorities, they must recognise that if there really exists a majority of workers desiring a new social system, that majority can give effect to its wishes at the polls. In that fashion the new plan, whatever it is, can be canvassed before the whole electorate; and the workers, who constitute the majority of both sexes, can elect the men whose programme satisfies them. To propose Direct Action instead of that method of national propaganda and open Parliamentary action is to reveal a belief that the majority of the workers do *not* desire the particular measures which the advocates of Direct Action propose There is only one inference The "Actionists" (to use a convenient name for them) believe that they can secure majority votes in the trade organisations where they could not secure Parliamentary majorities in the constituencies That is to say, the vote to be obtained in the trade organisations does not really represent the deliberate choice even of the majority of the workers, to say nothing of the millions whom the Actionists dismiss from consideration as *bourgeois* It represents only a manipulation of the workers' votes by a minority who zealously work the "machine" while the majority of the workers let the matter alone To the end of Direct Action, then, will be a mere Directorate of Labour leaders who for the time being hold power like so many Tammany Bosses, and who can dictate a policy only so long as they are able to combine upon one.

For the mass of the workers there is no more safety or stability in such a policy than there is for the rest of society. Labour solidarity, like the solidarity of any other aggregate, depends on the general conviction that the general interest is being preserved. Any Labour Directorate which might attain either virtual or actual political power as a result of Direct Action would have to satisfy the demands of every Labour section, as manipulated by its special leaders, who would insist that Direct Action must work out to their group interest as

they interpreted it. The spirit which revealed itself as Syndicalism is latent in every Labour section which has been led to accept Direct Action as the means of forcing the will of so-called Labour on the nation. And Labour leaders are at least as ready as any other politicians to subordinate their policy to their personal ambitions and their personal antagonisms.

There are men in the rank and file of the Direct Action movement who perfectly realise that their delegates may work more for their personal advancement than for the interest of their supporters; and they meet such criticisms as the foregoing by saying that disloyal delegates can be superseded. But even that optimism recognizes that every attempt at separatist control of the nation's destinies involves endless risks of individual self-assertion, which make possible the ascendancy of the most unscrupulous when they know how to "swing" the opinion of the mass in their favour. It is a strange form of credulity that relies on a perfect operation of good faith and good sense within the covered area of a Labour organisation, while refusing to accept the open electoral system on the score of its being controlled by sinister interests.

True, the open electoral system means the frequent deference of multitudes of electors to policies of self-interest and class-interest to wire-pullers and to clap-trap. But is not that very fact the proof that the mass is still capable of being misled? And does it give any ground for the belief that the device of Direct Action will secure the adoption of only wise policies? There is this saving difference between the Parliamentary system and the ideal of Direct Action, that under the former disputes must be thrashed out in the open among men representing many if not all points of view; and that thus every policy must run the gauntlet of criticism. True, the majority vote against the weight of the evidence. But at least the evidence is published, and in time it carries the day. Under the Parliamentary system it is generally possible for the individual elector to know the merits of a case if he will take the trouble. But under a system of Direct Action the acting Directorate would never know the arguments against their plan until they had forced its acceptance. Thus far, there has been no adequate general criticism of any one of the schemes for which Direct Action is proposed to be taken.

If there is to be any good future for either Labour or the nation (which we are now being taught to regard as different

things) it will be by way of loyalty to the system of representative government for which Labour a generation ago strove with its whole heart. The advice to abandon or supersede that system because it has not yet yielded all the well-being that was hoped from it is the advice of men seeking not so much the general well-being as their own advancement, though many doubtless associate the two ends by force of habit. Whatever be their ideals, they are labouring to set up, not the sovereignty of the people, but a State within the State. And what is disloyalty to the principle of democracy will never work out as loyalty to Labour.

THE TRUTH ABOUT THE I. W. W.[1]

The American public has been frightened by the impressionist school of reporters and magazine writers into vital misconception and tremendous overestimate of the power and significance of the Industrial Workers of the World. This is the one outstanding fact revealed by the eighth annual convention of that organization held in Chicago late in September. It is proposed in the following paper to review the evidence in support of these assertions mainly by reference to that furnished by the convention itself, supplemented by facts verifiable through observation and testimony of members of the organization.

The first significant fact revealed by this convention, and by the whole history of the I. W. W. as well, is that this body, which claims as its mission the organization of the whole working class for the overthrow of capitalism, is pathetically weak in effective membership and has failed utterly in its efforts to attach to itself permanently a considerable body of men representative of any section of American workers.

In spite of eight years of organizing effort and unparalleled advertisement, the official roll of the convention indicated that its present paid-up membership entitled to representation does not much exceed 14,000 men, while the actual constitutional representation on the convention floor was probably less than half that number. Nor was there anything to make it appear that this was regarded by the leaders or members as an exceptional or disappointing showing. The fact is, impossible as

[1] By Robert F. Hoxie. Journal of Political Economy. 21:785-97. November, 1913.

it may seem to those who have read the recent outpouring of alarmist literature on the subject, that this number probably comes near to representing the maximum, permanent, dues-paying membership at any time connected with the organization For notwithstanding extravagant statements made in the past and a present claim of an enrolment approximating 100,000,[1] it is admitted by the highest official of the Industrial Workers that up to the time of the Lawrence strike the membership never reached 10,000, the highest yearly average being but 6,000; and the convention debates indicated clearly that the great bulk of those enrolled during that strike and in the succeeding period of unusual agitation and activity have retained no lasting connection with the organization. It was shown that the effective force of the union at Lawrence is already spent.[2] The representatives of the whole textile industry, indeed, cast but 31 votes in the convention, developing the fact that the total paid-up membership in this line of work probably does not now exceed 1,600,[3] and a communication was received from one of the local unions still remaining at Lawrence complaining of the methods of the organization and threatening adhesion to the American Federation of Labor. At Akron, again, where during the rubber strike early this year apparently more than 6,000 were added to the roll, the convention vote cast indicated a present membership of 150 or thereabouts, and statements on the floor revealed the fact that most of those who joined at the time of the strike did not retain official connection with the union long enough to pay the second assessment of dues.[4]

Evidence to the same general effect might be multiplied almost indefinitely. Everywhere the history of the organization

[1] The actual membership of the I. W. W. is unknown even to the officials. The records of the general office show an average paid-up membership for the year of 14,310. It is estimated that local and national bodies have an additional dues-paying membership of 25,000 on which no per capita tax has been paid to the general organization, and that there is, besides, a nominal non-dues-paying enrolment of from 50,000 to 60,000 The truth seems to be that 100,000 or more men *have had* I W. W. dues cards in their possession during the past five years How much of this outlying membership fringe is now bona fide it is impossible to estimate. Some part of it represents members out of work or on strike and therefore temporarily unable to pay dues. Even this portion, however, is organically ineffective and is constantly dropping out. We seem justified therefore in taking the actual paid-up membership as the nearest approximation to the permanent effective strength of the organization.

[2] The membership claimed at Lawrence (1913) is 700. After the strike it was said to be 14,000.

[3] By constitutional provision one vote is allowed in the convention for every 50 members or major fraction thereof.

[4] At the time of the strike the local purchased 11,000 dues stamps from the general office. A membership of 2,000 is claimed at present.

has shown this same inability to maintain a stable and growing membership. There are without doubt reasons for this fact apart from the special character and methods of the I. W. W., but these are beside the point. The point is that by reason of lack of sufficient membership this body is and seems destined to be utterly inadequate to the tasks which it has set itself to accomplish. It aims to educate and organize the working class and claims to have discovered the effective ideals and organic basis to this end, but during eight years of strenuous effort it has succeeded in reaching and holding less than one in 2,000 of the workers of this country alone Its first great organic tasks, if it is to attain this end, are the displacement of the American Federation of Labor, the railway brotherhoods, and the Socialist party, but it has not been able to organize effectively for these purposes a body of men equal to 1 per cent of the membership of the American Federation alone, or to one-sixtieth of those who act with the Socialist party; it proposes a united and successful direct industrial assault upon capitalism, but it has not thus far drawn to itself on this basis a permanent enrolment equal in number to the employees of many a single capitalist enterprise. Plainly no further proof is needed that those who are attached to the present order have nothing now to fear from I. W. W.-ism judged from the standpoint of mere numbers and power of appeal to the great body of the working class.

But numerical weakness is not after all the chief handicap of the I. W. W. in its struggle for positive achievement. This convention secondly brought into clearest relief the fact that this feeble body is in a state of organic chaos as the result of apparently irreconcilable internal conflict, and the history of the organization makes it appear that this state of affairs is chronic and inevitable. The conflict, the keynote of I. W. W. history, was waged in the present convention under the guise of centralization versus decentralization. It is at present objectively a contest virtually between the East and the West. The so-called decentralizers, mainly westerners, sought in the convention by every conceivable means to cut down the power and authority of the central governing body. This central authority already had been reduced almost to a shadow. As the result of previous phases of the contest the office of general president had been abolished; the executive board had been placed under control of the general referendum which could

be initiated at any time and on all subjects by ten local unions in three different industries, while its efficiency had been minimized by inadequate financial support; and the locals had become to all intents and purposes autonomous bodies. But all this has brought no permanent satisfaction to the decentralizing faction. Its ultimate ideal apparently is, and has been from the beginning, not "one big union" but a loosely federated body of completely autonomous units, each free to act in time and in manner as its fancy dictates, subject to no central or constitutional guidance or restraint—in short, a body of local units with purely voluntary relationships governed in time, character, and extent of co-operation by sentiment only.

Actuated by this ideal, the decentralizers conducted in the recent convention a twelve days' assault upon what remained of central power. They attempted to abolish the general executive board; to paralyze the general organization by minimizing its financial support; to abolish the convention and provide for legislation by means of the general referendum only; to place the official organizers under the direct control of the rank and file; to reduce the general officers to the position of mere clerks, functioning only as corresponding intermediaries between the local organizations; and by other means to give to each of these local bodies complete autonomy in matters of organization, policy, action, and financial control. It matters little that at this particular convention the centralizing faction, mainly by virtue of superior parliamentary tactics, succeeded in staving off the attacks of its opponents and in saving, at least until the matter goes to referendum, the present form of the organization. The significant facts are that the same factional strife has existed from the moment when the I W. W. was launched; and that it apparently is bound to exist as long as the organization lasts; that the decentralizing forces, though often defeated formally, have in practice succeeded and seem bound to continue to succeed in working their will inside the organization, with the inevitable result of disintegration and organic chaos. Evidence of this is everywhere apparent. During the past year 99 locals, ignored and uncared for, went out of existence entirely; in New York the relatively strong local assembly is working at cross-purposes with the central organization and successfully defying its power; in the West, locals are being formed and managed on extra-constitutional lines; throughout this part of the country members are being expelled

by one local and straightway admitted by another; so diverse are the local ideals and so uncertain the means of intercommunication that in practice it has been found generally impossible to get ten locals into the requisite harmony to initiate a referendum; sabotage is being openly practiced by the local membership against the organization itself and has recently resulted in the suspension of one of its two official organs, the *Industrial Worker;* in fact, it is freely admitted and apparently is looked upon with satisfaction by the decentralizing faction, that there are at present fifty-seven varieties of Industrial Workers of the World.

The net result is that the I. W. W., instead of being the grim, brooding power which it is pictured in popular imagination is a body utterly incapable of strong, efficient, united action and the attainment of results of a permanent character, a body capable of local and spasmodic effort only. True, it has a constitution which provides in a most logical manner for the welding of the workers into a great, effective, organic body. But this constitution is a mere mechanical structure in the interstices of which organic accretions have here and there settled. The little organic bodies are sovereign, each of their members is a sovereign, and to both member and organic unit the constitution is a thing subject to their will. The fact is that the I. W. W. is not an organization but a loosely bound group of uncontrolled fighters. It is a sympton if you will, and in that alone, if anywhere, lies its present social significance. But decentralized as it is to the extent of organic dissipation, atomistic and rent by bitter factional strife, it has no present power of general persistent or constructive action.

The I. W. W., however, is not only weak in membership and organic unity; it possesses, further, no financial resources even in a slight degree adequate to advance and maintain its proposed organization of the working class or to carry forward any consistent assault on capitalism; and, moreover, it has shown itself incapable of controlling for its main purposes even the financial resources which it does possess. Advocates of the movement, it is true, minimize the importance of mere money in the kind of warfare which they propose to conduct. This is supposed to be one of the pregnant ideas of the direct actionists. They do not propose, it is said, like the Socialists, to support a horde of parasitic labor politicians, nor, like the trade unions, to out-wait the capitalist. They will force the

capitalists to abdicate by the simple process of making it unprofitable for them to conduct industry. And this can be done practically without funds—where it will suffice—simply by keeping the worker's hands in his pockets; where this will not produce the desired result, by striking on the job I do not purpose in this connection to enter into any discussion of the theory of direct action. All that I wish to do is to point out the fact that much of the present weakness of the I. W. W. is due to financial want and a constitutional inability to control the actual financial resources at hand. Time after time the I. W. W. has been obliged to let slip favorable opportunities for organization and has lost local bodies because it could not furnish the carfare and meal tickets necessary to send the gospel to the workers groping in darkness. Time after time it has seen promising demonstrations collapse and the workers drift away from the point of contest and from its control because it could not finance organizers and supply food and lodging to tide over the period of temporary hardship. The whole experience of the organization has, in fact, proved that, short of a condition of general and desperate distress, progressive and permanent working-class organization requires ready and continuous financial support. And here lies the most vital error in the practical theory and calculations of the I. W. W. The American workmen as a body are not, and are not likely to be, in a condition of general and desperate distress. It is, therefore, to the unskilled and casual laborers alone that the I. W. W. can bring home its appeal and to these only that it can look for the funds to put through its organizing projects. It is this chronic financial distress that more than anything else has caused the dissipation of its membership after each of its brilliant but spasmodic efforts.

The case is made more hopeless by the inability of the organization to control the little financial power it can command. This lack of financial control is another outcome of the decentralizing mania which grips the membership. The average local has not developed the ability to conserve its own resources. Rather than support the central authority and submit to its financial management, the local suffers its funds to be dissipated by incompetent members or stolen by dishonest officials. Nothing was more striking in the recent convention than the stories of local financial losses. "All down through the line," said one delegate, "we have had experience with sec-

retaries who absconded with funds." "No less than three have done the same thing (in our local)," was the testimony of another. This has happened three times to one local in one year according to a third statement. Indeed, so loose is the local financial control and the general interrelationship of organic units, especially in the western country, that there appears to exist a body of circulating professional agitators who make it their business to go from locality to locality for the sole purpose of getting themselves elected to the treasurer's office and absconding with the funds. The local unions do not seem to be in sufficiently close touch to ferret out the malefactors and check the practice, nor will they heed the warnings of the general office. Indeed, in some locals the feeling seems to prevail that the local secretary is entitled to what he can make way with. Such are the financial conditions in the organization which claims to have the only means of opposing to the capitalist class a solid and effective organization of the workers, and asserts that it is training the workers for the task of reorganizing and managing the industries of the country.

From what has already been said it might readily be inferred that the I. W. W. would be incapable of successful general assault on the present social and industrial organization or of any effective reconstructive effort, even though it should succeed in greatly enlarging its membership, reconciling its factions, and overcoming its financial difficulties. Such a conclusion in fact seems amply warranted It rests on a threefold basis: First, the membership of the I. W. W. is and is bound to be of such a character that united, sustained, constructive action is practically impossible for it without a consistent body of ideals and a relatively permanent leadership of the highest organizing and directive quality.

As already intimated, the I. W. W. must depend for the bulk of its membership on the least capable, least developed, lowest trained, and poorest paid of American workmen. To these may be added an element made up of irresponsible atomists who are so constituted that to them all authority is an ever-present challenge. No American workman of constructive mind will permanently affiliate himself with a revolutionary industrial organization which abhors half-measures and political action, so long as he can see ahead the hope of immediate betterment through the gradual development and enforcement of an improved system of working rules and conditions. This

does not mean that the I. W. W. is composed of the so-called "bum" element, as is so often asserted. Far from it. But it does mean that it is the desperate elements of the working class, the men who have not developed and cannot develop, under the existing system, organic discipline and constructive ability, to whom the I. W. W. appeals—in the East the "Hunkies" and underpaid mill hands, for the most part unassimilated Europeans; in the West the "blanket stiffs," the "timber wolves," "the dock wallopers," and the padrone-recruited construction gangs; and everywhere the man who because of temperament or oppression has become a self-directing enemy of whatever stands for authority or things as they are. One has but to observe the recent convention to recognize these types and these characters as predominant even in this picked assembly. Undernourishment and underdevelopment were prominent physical characteristics of the group. The broad-headed, square-jawed, forceful, and constructive type, so marked in trade-union assemblies, was conspicuous by its absence. By many of those present organic strength and action were evidently regarded as correlatives of oppression. To some these ideas seemed so foreign that the general character of the organization appeared to be unknown to them. The rule of the majority, except in so far as it applied to the local group, was repudiated many times during the course of the debates. Add to all this the presence in the assembly of members of secret committees whose actions are beyond even the knowledge and control of the local groups—and we have a fair conception of the difficulty here presented of united and controlled action. Obviously only a body of leaders strong in intelligence and personality, bound to a consistent body of ideals, harmonious in action, and long in the saddle, could hope to weld such elements into an effective, organic whole

But, secondly, the I. W. W. has failed to develop and sustain such a stable body of leaders and shows no capacity to do so. Of the original group of men who organized and outlined the policies of this new venture in unionism, only one was seated in the convention and only one or two besides are prominently connected with the organization at present. Moyer, Debs, Mother Jones, Pinkerton, and others, signers of the original manifesto, effective leaders of the past, many of them yet effective leaders in other labor organizations, have all disappeared from the councils of the I. W. W.—nagged out,

kicked out, or driven out by despair or disgust. This result has been in part the inevitable outcome of the hatred of authority which expresses itself in the decentralizing movement. Partly, as will be shown later, it is the outcome of an incongruity and shifting of ideals within the organization; but, to no small extent, it is the product of a strong force of romantic idealism which, strange as it may seem, exists in the minds and hearts of the downtrodden constituency of the I. W. W. In spite of the fact that these men will have none of the regularly constituted authority when it makes for strength, they are hero-worshippers and are easily led for the moment by the "heroes of labor" These heroes are the momentary leaders of strikes and of battles with the police and militia, those especially who have gone on trial and suffered imprisonment for violence or the disturbance of the public peace. They are, in general, men who themselves have not involuntarily suffered at the hands of society but have provoked its vengeance. They are largely well nourished, quick, and intelligent, but, with exceptions, they are men who have deliberately discarded all constructive ideals, deliberately thrown off social restraint, and, in the spirit of the mediaeval knight or the revolutionist of the well-to-do classes in Russia, have constituted themselves the personal avengers of the wrongs of the working class. Such men grip the imagination of the rank and file and make of what would otherwise be an ultra-democratic organization, relatively unfitted for constructive effort, a positively destructive force in spirit and action They are the inventors of new forms of sabotage, the guerilla leaders, the members of "secret committees," the *provocateurs* in the free-speech fights; the men who create the sentiment that the only existing standard of right is might, that opposition to authority is a virtue, that imprisonment is an honor. It is these labor heroes, rising from time to time before the admiring vision of the undisciplined membership of the I. W. W., who have displaced the men already in power and, to a large extent, have made impossible the development of a stable body of leaders capable of welding the membership by patient effort into an organic whole.

Underneath all this, however, making consistent action and therefore permanent development impossible for the I. W. W., there exists and has existed, thirdly, a fundamental conflict of ideals. Much has been made of the sabotage and other modes

of direct action current among the members of the I. W. W. Because of the prevalence of these methods, the conclusion has been accepted uncritically that I. W. W.-ism is another name for syndicalism. This, however, is but a half-truth and even as such it needs qualification The truth is that the I. W. W. is a compound entity whose elements are not entirely harmonious. It was launched in 1905 as a protest against craft unionism and the conservative attitude and policies of the American Federation of Labor. It was originally composed prevailingly of a body of men socialistically inclined who believed that betterment of the condition of the workers as a whole and permanently could be attained only by organizing all of them by industries into one big union with the ultimate object of the overthrow of the capitalist system. In order to attain this end they outlined an organization which should bring the skilled and unskilled workers into one structural body with highly centralized authority, so that the whole power, of the organization—especially its financial power—could be quickly concentrated at any one point where contest existed between the employers and the workmen, and which should co-operate with the Socialist party on the political field. The slogans of the organization were: "Labor produces all wealth"; "might makes right"; "an injury to one an injury to all"; "no contracts and no compromise"; "industrial organization"; "one big union"; "workers of the world unite." The I. W. W. showed at this time no essential characteristics of what has since become familiar as revolutionary syndicalism.

No sooner, however, had the organization been launched than a conflict of ideals appeared. The first year saw a fatal blow struck at the idea of one big union with strong, centralized authority—in a disruption which resulted in the abolition of the office of general president of the organization. In 1908 a second split occurred which banished the Socialist element from power. Political action was stricken from the preamble to the constitution and direct action as a revolutionary slogan arose alongside the notion of one big, centralized, industrial union. From this time forward the internal history of the I. W. W. has been a history of the conflict of these two ideals—the one, industrial unionism, standing for permanent organization of the workers and immediate benefits, requiring a strong central authority well financed; the other, revolutionary syndicalism, standing for uncontrolled agitation and guerilla

warfare, whose adherents chafe against central authority and its financial support.

Out of this conflict of ideals the contest between centralization and decentralization arose. The decentralizers, mainly westerners, imbued with the revolutionary ideal because they were for the most part casual workers with no big industries to organize, whose main recourse was to stir up trouble, argued that since this was the purpose of the organization all central authority was to be reckoned as irksome restraint. The local membership could best judge when the time had come to act A central treasury was not needed since one or a few individuals acting on their own responsibility could wreck machinery, destroy materials, and precipitate a contest with political authority. Therefore they raised the banner of decentralization and direct revolution Thus was syndicalism born and nourished in the I. W. W. But it was mainly an instinctive syndicalism, a blind, destructive force, lacking in general the vision and well-rounded doctrine of the European syndicalists. Even yet it is safe to say that few among the rank and file who call themselves syndicalists could state the theory of the European movement Meanwhile in the East the relatively permanent character of the unskilled workers, and the necessity of wrenching from great industrial organizations immediate and permanent gains, still emphasized the need of regularity, authority, and permanent power—in short, industrial unionism in its original connotation. Hence syndicalism and industrial unionism have remained as conflicting ideals within the organization, preventing the development of that leadership which alone can give to the I. W. W consistent action, permanent growth, and effective power. So long as the conflict holds, the organization must remain weak, spasmodic in action, and destructive in results.

But it is doubtful if the final triumph of either of these ideals would suffice to make of the I. W W. a real power in this country. In this connection two points need emphasis: first, in so far as the I. W W. aspires to represent syndicalism pure and simple the conditions are not here for its growth. Syndicalism as it has developed in this country is a doctrine of despair. However much its proponents may attempt to stress its ultimate ideal—the reguilding of industrial society—it is essentially a destructive philosophy As stated above, it will not be adopted, except temporarily and under special stress,

by any body of workmen who see hope ahead in gradual betterment through constructive industrial and political action. Such a body is the organizing element of the American working class as evidenced by the 2½ million trade unionists, and the growth of the Socialist party since it has taken an opportunist position.

Secondly, in so far as the I. W. W. aspires to represent the movement toward industrial unionism, the field of action is already occupied. The American Federation of Labor through its local councils, its central organizations, its system federations, its departments, and its amalgamated craft unions, is creating the machinery for the practical expression of the industrial union ideal as rapidly as the circumstances of the worker's life and needs allow of its development. The process is perhaps slow but it is sure and effective. It is proceeding by the trial-and-error method which alone has proved adequate to the permanent advancement of the interests of the workers. And when it is considered further that within the American Federation one industrial union alone outnumbers in membership the whole effective force of the I W. W. in the proportion of 20 to 1, the prospect that the latter will be able to oust its rival from the field becomes too small for consideration.

The fact is that the I. W. W. faces a perpetual dilemma. The bulk of the American workmen want more here and now for themselves and their immediate associates and care little for the remote future or the revolutionary ideal. These will have none of the I. W. W. The others have not, and under the existing conditions cannot develop the capacity for sustained organic effort. Whichever way the organization turns, then, it seems doomed to failure.

Viewing the situation in any reasonable light, therefore, we find it difficult to escape the conclusion that the Industrial Workers of the World as a positive social factor is more an object of pathetic interest than of fear. It has succeeded in impressing itself upon the popular imagination as a mysterious, incalculable force likely to appear and work destruction at any time and place. It has terrified the public because its small body of irresponsible and foot-loose agitators scent trouble from afar and flock to the point where social rupture seems to be for the moment imminent. They are like Morgan's raiders. By rapidity of movement and sheer audacity they have created

the impression of a great organized force. But in reality they are incapable of anything but spasmodic and disconnected action. As a means for calling attention to the fact that machinery is breaking down the distinction between skilled and unskilled labor and is thus rendering craft organization ineffective; as an instrument for rousing the public to a consciousness of the suffering and needs of the unskilled and transient workers and of the existence here of a compelling social problem; as a spur to the activity of the more conservative and exclusive labor organizations, the I. W. W. may have a useful social function. As a directly effective social force, it has no considerable significance.

DESTRUCTION THE AVOWED PURPOSE OF THE I. W. W.[1]

The I. W. W. is destructive in theory and in practice. It would destroy the State and the ownership of property and substitute for these voluntary collectivism or a form of anarchy. It claims that the campaign of education and that constant reform are antiquated and ineffective, advocates "direct action," and the destruction of the present that Utopia may be superimposed on the ruins. As the Industrial Workers of the World state in their own literature: "There is just one bargain the Industrial Workers of the World will make with the employing class—complete surrender of all control of industry to the organized workers." Since the purpose is to subvert present economic conditions and principles, all policies and methods are destructive. They say society is composed of two classes—the employing and the employed—whose interests are diametrically opposed and incapable of conciliation. Hence the wrongs of the employed can be righted only by dispossessing the employers. Upon this basis their program is prepared.

So irrevocable and so ineradicable do they consider the line of demarcation between the two classes that one of their interpreters, Mr. Pouget, even postulates for them two distinct systems of morality:

"The truth is that, as there exist two classes in society, so there exist two moralities, the bourgeois morality and the proletarian morality."

Yet Mr. Pouget deems even this morality too constrictive.

[1] From the American Federationist. 20:534-7. July, 1913

For in considering the transfer of industry to the workers from an ethical standpoint, he says:

"We are going to take over the industries some day, for three very good reasons: Because we need them, because we want them, and because we have the power to get them. Whether we are 'ethically justified' or not is not our concern."

Their destructive policies begin with opposition to the trade union. For this they would substitute a type of organization that would unite all the workers into one ardent, compact, awe-inspiring union, eager to sacrifice personal and immediate benefits to a dream of future perfection. Such an organization would constitute a sort of militant flying wedge to reach by direct action the heart of industry—for to the victors belong the spoils. The tactics employed in this "organization" are the general strike, direct action, and sabotage.

The general strike is to enable the workers to approximate the fighting strength of the employer—for action "altogether," with irresistible solidarity, would sweep all difficulties away. The mere fact that different groups of men working at different trades have different interests, presents no difficulties to these theorists who demand that all workers be ever on the *qui vive* to forego their individual desires and welfare and the interests of those dependent on them for the sake of the "altogether" Utopia. Since the "altogether" strike with folded hands for industrial purposes is impracticable because of difficulties presented by human nature, more aggressive methods are employed.

In actual practice it is hard to distinguish between direct action, sabotage, and violence. Direct action, they say, is getting results by more immediate methods—that is, appropriating. The term sabotage is derived from *sabot*, meaning a wooden shoe. The propagandists say sabotage is a slang word used figuratively in the sense "to work clumsily." Less prejudiced writers find a more sinister connotation, derived from the action of French peasants in throwing their wooden shoes into machinery as a strike device. Direct action interpreted means violence, force, sabotage, the strike in which are used all the methods condemned by humanitarian standards—that the ultimate ideal may be obtained immediately. Sabotage is just another term for destruction. The leaders suggest that delicate and expensive machinery may be ruined by careless handling or dropping in foreign articles; food or other articles may be made unfit for sale; salespeople may refuse to show stock,

may injure sales by displaying all the defects in the goods or by telling the whole truth; expensive mistakes may be made intentionally, as perishable goods billed to the wrong destination. One of their leaders dropped this suggestion:

"With two cents worth of a certain ingredient utilized in a peculiar way it will be easy for the railwaymen to put the locomotives in such a condition as to make it impossible to run them"

The whole purpose of this program is not to secure changes that will bring present benefits to the workers, but to make the employers so dissatisfied, so hopeless, that they will retire in despair, leaving the workers in possession of industry. And then what? Which of them knows? Is it not true that if society is "too individualistic for a socialist State" it is equally "too communistic for an individualist State?"

We would not disparage idealism, but the vision of all the workers of the world, banded together in one world-wide organization against all other forces of society, nations, and States is too chimerical to be seriously entertained by an intelligent man or woman confronted with the practical problem of securing a better home, better food and clothing, and a better life. Intelligent, practical workers want an organization that will benefit them now, and will protect them in the enjoyment of advantages secured while additional benefits are sought. It is well and inspiring to work for the uplift of all humanity, but that usually can best be done if each will attend to his own immediate obligations so that all may daily grow into better things rather than suddenly be carried skyward by a cataclysmic uplift to strange and unaccustomed heights and duties.

However, the most serious objections to the Industrial Workers of the World are not their utopian theories, but the violence, the "ceaseless class war" without regard to humanitarian rules of war, and the needless suffering inflicted upon the workers and society. It has been said that in advising waiters on strike their leaders called attention to the opportunities in serving food to destroy even life. This has been put into words by one of their spokesmen thus:

"They do not recognize the employer's right to live any more than a physician recognizes the right of typhoid bacilli to thrive at the expense of a patient, the patient merely keeping alive."

Although the ultimate ideal is individualistic in the extreme, when industry shall be controlled by the groups of workers, when neither State nor laws shall exist, yet the method of attaining this goal sacrifices individual welfare at every stage. The workers are to become pawns to be directed and used by

a "live minority" for the ultimate good of all. Present possessions and present benefits are to be lightly cast aside in response to the call of the leaders for immediate, united action for revolutionary purposes. Such methods fail to take human nature and the evolutionary character of progress into account. Both employers and employed who have had experience with the I. W. W. turn with appreciation to the American Federation of Labor.

Then, too, the workers are done a criminal injury and injustice when the I. W. W. comes among them to instill impracticable ideals, so to inflame the imagination by the hallucination that in yet a little while the workers shall inherit the whole earth and all its riches. Deluded by this leadership, unorganized workers who have no conception of hours, fair wages, sanitary or standardized conditions of work; who, since they are unorganized, have been unprotected, domineered over and cruelly treated by employers who take every advantage of their dependent and defenseless position -these toilers have been persuaded to believe that the so-called Industrial Workers of the World will lead raw recruits of labor to immediate, final, and absolute emancipation from every industrial, economic, and social ill; that they will immediately become the owners of all wealth, the directors of all the means of production and agencies for distribution. Dazed by the anticipated dizzy heights of mastery of world-destinies, intoxicated by the vision of tri umph and absolute control, workers have entrusted their welfare to these industrial "promoters" only to come to a realization of the futility of their visions, of blasted hopes and wasted opportunities. Then they turn in wrath upon their deluders and misleaders.

THE FALSE THEORIES OF THE I. W. W.[1]

The Department of Labor, over which I have the honor to preside as Secretary, for more than two years has been combatting the peculiar philosophy advocated by the Industrial Workers of the World, which is very closely akin to the philosophy of the Bolshevist movement, though there have some things developed in connection with the theories and practice of the Bolshevists that even our most rabid radical philosophers

[1] From an Address by William B. Wilson, U.S. Secretary of Labor, before the Boston Chamber of Commerce, April, 1919.

among the Industrial Workers of the World will not accept when they come to understand them.

A year ago last September the western part of our country was honey-combed with the teachings of the Industrial Workers. The organization had almost gone out of existence after a brief period of activity and could not again have come into existence in our country if it had not been for the assistance that it received, consciously or unconsciously, from abroad. The President directed a commission to proceed into the western part of the country, to examine into the situation and endeavor to find a remedy if possible, so that the industries, particularly those industries necessary for the prosecution of the war, might not be interfered with.

I had the honor of being the chairman of that commission. We proceeded to investigate and we found this to be the situation: That the Industrial Workers of the World were unable to secure a foothold of any importance in any of our industrial establishments except where the owners of the establishment or the management of the establishment had pursued a policy of repression of the legitimate aspirations of the workers in their plants.

Wherever the evolutionary tendency of the workers was permitted to express itself, the philosophy of the Industrial Workers found no foothold. Unfortunately, there have been large numbers amongst the capitalists of our country who have felt that the welfare of their establishment and their business required that they should pursue a policy of repression of the legitimate expressions of their workers, and hence a fertile field was created for the propaganda of these false philosophers.

The Department of Labor, being entrusted with the welfare of the wage workers, believed that ultimately the acceptance by the wage workers of these theories, even though they were working under conditions of repression, would lead to great injury, started a campaign of education against the philosophy.

And what was the philosophy that we found? First, the propagandists laid as the foundation of their theories that every man is entitled to the full social value of what his labor produces. This is a purely maximal theory, stated in a purely maximal way, but it is not only a theory that socialists may accept—it is a theory that every individual may also accept.

To my method of thought it is a truism to say that every man is entitled to the full social value of what his labor produces.

The difficulty with it, however, is that human intelligence has not as yet devised a method by which you can compute the value to society of the labor that is contributed by any man. and until human intelligence has devised a method by which you can compute the value of the mental and physical labor of mankind, it is futile to assert that every man is entitled to the full social value of what his labor produces.

We have endeavored, in years gone by, in the centuries that we have been engaged in industrial enterprises, to solve that question on the basis of competition,—competition multiplied on one side by the organization of capital and on the other side by the organization of labor.

But having laid that foundation for their philosophy—and a very sound foundation this—they proceed to step farther and they say that all property is valuable only so far as profits can be secured from the property—that if you can destroy the profits that result from the use of the property the owner will no longer desire to retain it, and the thing for the workers to do, therefore, is to destroy the profits from the property—to shirk, to soldier, to "perform a stint," as they say on the other side of the ocean, to put sand upon the bearings, to break the machines, to destroy the product, to drive copper nails into fruit trees—anything that will reduce the production per individual and increase the cost; and the allegation is made that if this course is pursued by the workers, the profits will be eliminated so far as the owner of the property is concerned, and with the profits eliminated and the property no longer valuable, the workers can take the property over, operate it themselves collectively and secure the full social value of their labor.

The people who are advancing these theories fail to take into consideration our public school system, our facilities for acquiring information and knowledge, the method of thought of the average American. They fail to realize that the vast majority of the workers of our country have at least a smattering knowledge of industrial history, and all we had to do to upset that kind of preaching was to call attention to the historical fact that prior to the introduction of the modern factory system, prior to the rebirth of the inventive genius of man, when everything that was produced was produced by hand, there was a smaller amount of production per individual per day,

per week, per year than could possibly result from any system of shirking they could introduce.

Yet in those old days there were still profits for the employers and value in the property. What did result was a very much lower standard of living for the wage workers; and if these people succeeded in crowding their theories into effect, if it had been possible for them to do it, instead of destroying the value of the property and the profits of the employer it would have resulted in reducing the standard of living of the wage workers of our country.

Mutual Interest

The employer and the employee have a mutual interest—and an identical interest; mark the distinction—the employer and the employee have a mutual interest in securing the largest possible production with a given amount of labor, having due regard to the health, the safety, the opportunities for rest, recreation and improvement of the workers Those being safeguarded, then the larger the production the better it is for all of us. If there is nothing produced there will be nothing to divide. If there is a large amount produced, there will be a large amount to divide.

The interests of the employer and the employee only diverge when it comes to a division of that which has been produced; and if they are wise in their generation, if they have the good business tact that the average American man usually has, in these times of stress and in the years that are to follow when it comes to the point of a division of that which has been mutually produced they will sit down round the council table and endeavor to work out the problem on as nearly a just basis as the circumstances surrounding the industry will permit.

Divergent Views

And yet we find very divergent views exisiting amongst employers and amongst workmen on that very question.

We find amongst employers the theory set forth that their property is their own, their business is their own, and they have a right to run their business as it suits themselves, without interference from any sources. Now that may have been true in the days of Adam, when there was only one man on earth,

but when the second man came the second man had equal rights with the first, and as they grew in numbers each of the additional men had equal rights with those who had preceded them. They had divergent views as to what constituted their rights. That grows out of the judgment which the Almighty has endowed us with And because they had variations of judgment as to what constituted their rights, they had conflicts; and finally as a means of adjusting those differences without resorting to physical conflict, we established organized society in its various forms—and in the organized society no man has a right that is absolute and complete within himself that has any bearing upon the equal rights of his neighbors.

There are certain things that are inherent, that deal only with the man and his own conscience—a man in his relation to the Almighty, in which no majority has the right to impose its will upon the smallest kind of minority; but in the relation of man to man no one has an absolute right that in any way interferes with the equal rights of somebody else

Partners in Industry

To my mind, the employer and the employee, having a mutual interest in the largest possible production, are, to the extent that they have that mutual interest, partners in the business. It does not follow, however, that because men have a voice in determining the conditions under which they will assist in producing they will be compensated alike, because as I have already said, men are endowed with different degrees of intelligence, with different viewpoints, they have lived in different environments; and because of these differences they approach the question from divergent standpoints, and so there may be conflicts growing out of these divergences of opinion, even where both feel that they are absolutely right in their position; but the number of conflicts will be reduced to a minimum when there is a recognition on the part of the employer of that partnership and where there is also a recognition on the part of the employee that there is that partnership.

SHOP STEWARDS

THE SHOP STEWARDS AND THEIR SIGNIFICANCE[1]

The swing to the left in British labor in its organized front in foreign and domestic politics, shows itself in the economic field in the newer movements for workers' control.

True, we have had outreachings toward democracy in industry in the long upward thrust of craft unionism, in the Socialist movement for state ownership of the means of production, in the more recent syndicalist movement for producer's ownership. But there is something at work in England which can be differentiated from all three. It is manifesting itself spontaneously in the insurgency of the shop-stewards. It is manifesting itself organically in the rise of industrial unionism. It is manifesting itself deliberately in the recommendations by the Whitley Commission of industrial councils which have been adopted by the British government as the basis for its policy for industrial reconstruction; deliberately, also, in the plans of farsighted employers and the propaganda of the guild-Socialists.

The story of the shop stewards is laid in the engineering trades—the machinists, as we know them in America; the munition-workers, as the war cast them in a new rôle. In that new rôle, the women workers have been their understudies; and the fortunes of the two are, willy nilly, bound up together.

Yet, in a sense, the shop steward is offspring of the "father" (or as we call him in America, chairman) of the printers' chapel, an institution older than unionism itself. By usage dating back to Caxton's time, the oldest journeyman printer has represented his fellows in taking up things with the management. Prior to the war, the Amalgamated Society of Engineers (A. S. E.) had established stewards in various plants. They were the men who looked out for the interests of the union

[1] By Arthur Gleason. Survey. 41:417-22. January 4, 1919. Reprinted in "British Labor and the War" by P. V. Kellogg and Arthur Gleason. Boni and Liveright, 1919.

in the particular shop. They would ask a new man to show his union card and, if he had none and refused to join, then it would be made uncomfortable for him by the other unionists. The shop steward would get together temporary shop committees to take up some plant grievance with the employer. The shop stewards were often fired offhand by the employers if they found them out. While they were unremunerated save for perhaps a couple of shillings a quarter for turning in a report, and while they stood a chance of dismissal, the prestige of their position and their fidelity to the union made it characteristic of the stewards that they were usually the most responsible, biggest calibered men about the plant. Finally, the practice reached a stage when the A S E. undertook to guarantee these men their wages for a year, or until they found employment elsewhere, if they were discharged for union activity. This led to the multiplication of stewards.

Under war conditions the movement went forward even more rapidly. There were several causes for this. At the outset of the war many of the national unions (miners excepted) agreed not to strike and they agreed to waive all the trade union restrictions and regulations which for a generation had been built up to safeguard the status and income of skilled men. The effect of the agreement was to scrap old machines, introduce speeding up and dilute the labor force in the war trades with unskilled and semi-skilled men, women and youths. The effect was, also, to scrap the old negotiating and conciliating machinery between employers and employes just at the time that the abandonment of the rules and regulations and the influx of "dilutes" made local issues all the more real.

In view of the fact that under war conditions, these issues had finally to be settled, not by bargaining, but by decision of the arbitration boards under the munitions act, the district trade union committees tended to side-step them and pass them up to the nationals, and the nationals to pass them on to the government tribunals. Moreover, under the war conditions, the new workers sought representation and a chance to count. The result was the growth of shop stewardism as a spontaneous groping after local remedy. It has taken many forms —sometimes the selection of a single steward for all crafts and all grades of skill as the representatives of the men of a plant in meeting with their employers; sometimes the getting together of several stewards in a large plant; sometimes the

getting together of the shop stewards of one district into a common committee for joint action. This brought them at various times and places into conflict with district committees, with the national unions, with the employers and with the government; conflicts which spread rather than confined the movement; conflicts which brought them individual set-backs only to break the way for newer and further incarnations of the same active principle elsewhere.

Speeding-up Unrest

To understand these outcroppings of self-assertion at a hundred points which can be compared only to a new rough and ready local leadership breaking through the crusts of a state political régime—such as the overthrow of the Whigs by the headstrong Jackson Democrats in the 20's—it is necessary to retrace some of the developments of the last four years, more in detail. It must be borne in mind, in doing so, that the war did not create English industrial unrest. It merely speeded it up along with output. In 1913, Great Britain had 1497 strikes and lockouts, involving 688,025 workpeople, and resulting in 11,630,732 lost working days. In coal-mining 200,000 persons were involved, in engineering 50,000 The war intensified the causes of dispute, and in 1917, 267,000 miners were involved, and in engineering 316,000 workers.

Modern big-scale standardized industry had long before 1914 outgrown its checks and controls, and was seeking some form of government which would permit it to function productively, smoothly and justly. It was seeking a government of its own, autocratic or self-governing, according as you focussed attention on the big managers or on the stirrings of the rank and file. When the need came to produce standardized goods swiftly, in immense quantities, the directorate and the workers could not operate under the old constitution. The power-driven machine tool had entered industry. An automatic machine is "a machine, which after the job has been fixed, requires no hand adjustment." Specialized work is done by such machines, one person forging nuts, another superintending their tapping, a third turning their ends, a fourth shaping their sides, another hardening them, a sixth polishing them. This means, carried over a period of years, that unskilled and semi-skilled labor takes over the process from the skilled worker, who is

used only to set up the machine. It means that women and children supplant the adult male.

Before the war the introduction of low-paid women as machine tenders had made for simmering trouble in the engineering trades. With the half million of women entering these trades (which are the munition trades) under the demands of war, the trouble came. In the autumn of 1914, a great armament firm put in women on shell-making, with a wage-reduction of 50 per cent from the standard rate of men. An agreement was reached between the Employers Federation and the Amalgamated Society of Engineers, restricting female labor to purely automatic operations. The men thus conceded the right of women to take part in the process of shell-making, but the firm did not make the corresponding concession of maintaining the wage-scale.

The officials of the A. S. E. never again caught up with the situation. Multitudes of women were poured into the engineering trades at a low wage scale. The rank and file members of the union remembered from this moment on that their officials (the executive committee and the district committees) had failed to protect them at this time of crisis. From this time on, the rank and file looked to themselves, and not to their officials, for protective action against what they believed to be profiteering employers. The labor troubles of the Clyde, Coventry, and elsewhere, led by the shop stewards began when the employers contrived to let the old labor leadership throw down its outer defences by admitting women to the munition processes and at the same time refused to safeguard the wage scale.

On February 8, 1915, H. J. Tennant, who had been undersecretary of state for war, representing the government, summoned the union leaders to organize the forces of labor, thus confessing the inability of the state and of the employers to conduct industry without a new partner in the control. This new partner was the trade union. This act of Mr. Tennant made the joint committee of men and masters a board of continuous mediation, conciliation and consultation. It conceded the husk of democratic control of industry, but what of the kernel?

Mr. Lloyd George was at this point in his varied career chancellor of the exchequer. In March, 1915, he called a conference at the treasury of 33 leading trade unions. He and

they drew up the Treasury agreement. Stoppages of work were to cease; arbitration was to take the place of strikes and lockouts. The trade unions were to favor "such changes in working conditions or trade customs as may be necessary with a view to accelerating the output of war munitions or equipments."

In other words, labor was to give up its chief offensive weapon (the strike) by which it could achieve a drastic reconsideration of its status and standard of living, and its main system of defensive trenches (its trade union restrictions, with respect to speeding up, overtime, apprenticeship and the like) by which it could safeguard the standards it had gained in the past. In return for what? A promise not a fulfilment.

The relaxation of existing demarcation restriction and admission of semi-skilled or female labor shall not affect adversely the rates customarily paid for the job

And the A. S. E. obtained the additional promise:

That the government will undertake to use its influence to secure the restoration of previous conditions in every case after the war.

Already the majority of munition workers were women. Their interests were not directly represented. One of their spokesmen wrote to Mr. Lloyd George for a definition of "rates customarily paid:

Mr. Lloyd George said:

The words which you quote would guarantee that women undertaking the work of men would get the same piece-rate as men were receiving before the date of the agreement.

This meant that the piece-rate but not the time-rate was guaranteed. But the time-rate is the basic standard for wages, because, without a time-rate guarantee, the piece-rate can be nibbled away. Also, many operations are not on piece-work. So the Treasury Agreement did not safeguard the new unskilled workers. As Mrs. Barbara Drake says:

The women's earnings fell to just one-half the earnings of the men, although the output of each was exactly the same.

The first munitions of war act incorporated this Treasury agreement. It went further and prevented the worker from obtaining an increase in wages by leaving one factory and going to another. It prevented him by enacting that he must obtain a "leaving certificate" from his former employer, or else go idle for six weeks. The wording was this (clause seven): "A person shall not give employment to a workman who, within the previous six weeks has been employed in or in connection with munition work," unless the workman holds a certificate from the employer that he left work with the consent of his

employer. Moreover, while this munitions of war act permitted the employer an advance of 20 per cent in profits over the profits of the three preceding years, it did not permit an average rise in the rate of wages sufficient to meet the rise in the cost of living. G. D. H. Cole, the guild Socialist and labor investigator, says of it:

In the munitions act, the state virtually entered into profit-sharing arrangement with the employers for the exploitation of labor, lending its disciplinary powers to the employers for the period of the war.

The War Time Tribunals

Mitigations were gradually found. A labor supply committee drew up a memorandum (circular L. 2) which became a statutory order fixing a rate of wages for women. And circular L. 3 fixed the rate of wages for semi-skilled and unskilled men. By January, 1916, the munitions of war amendment act made L. 2 and L 3 legal and mandatory in government-controlled factories.

No less than three sets of adjustment agencies were set up to which the workers could appeal [1] The title of the committee on production is a misnomer. Some such scope may have been in mind at the time of its creation, but its work has been largely in the adjustment of grievances between the employers and the men's unions. At first it was made up of representatives of the government merely, but under pressure of labor, its membership was expanded to nine, three chairmen representing the public, three labor men and three employers sitting in groups of three as arbitration courts Where the question was one involving women, it came under the munitions arbitral tribunals. It was before these bodies that general adjustments were brought, which would ordinarily come under collective bargaining. Rulings once made, if there was question as to their meaning, or the workers or employers claimed that they were being wrongly enforced, the case was reopened in the same tribunal for reinterpretation and enforcement. But when it was a simple case of whether an existing rate or decision was being observed in a given plant, the complainant turned from the national bodies to the district munitions courts. For example, if a woman was being paid forty shillings when the arbitral tribunal had awarded fifty for that kind of work, she

[1] **This is exclusive of the Minimum Wage Boards in certain sweated trades.**

might start proceedings just as an individual starts proceedings in a civil court for collection of a debt. The presiding officer was usually, but not always, a barrister, but lawyers were not permitted to practise before these courts. He was assisted by two assessors, one nominated by the employer, and one (if the case was that of a woman) by the Federation of Women Workers.

A further explanation of the widening cleavage between the rank and file and the old leaders, especially those who went into the government, was the slowness with which this new wartime machinery often functioned, coupled with the lack of consistent policy toward meeting the issues raised by the rising cost of living, by the change from time to piece rates, and by the revolutionary changes in method.

For example, the National Federation of Working Women endeavored for a long time to get a minimum wage ruling for a certain very large class of operatives in munitions work. The government let the thing drag unconsciously. Finally the girls at Newcastle, some thousands of them, struck The federation was peppered with wires and long distance telephone calls from government officials telling them that the strike was contrary to the law and insisting that they should tell the girls to go back to work. The federation said that it had tried for months to get the government to set a minimum rate but without avail. It had not advised the girls to strike, nor would it, under the circumstances, advise them to quit striking. The issue lay between the munitions office and the strikers. Within twenty-four hours the award was granted, for, this was important war work, but the award was for these Newcastle girls alone It took six weeks before similar rates were granted in other plants, and in each one the issue had to be raised that the rate had been granted in Newcastle. And it took four months before a general order was issued covering all work of this sort in the United Kingdom As it was, the Newcastle girls got five pence an hour as against four pence halfpenny which was given to their less militant fellows. The result was to spread a distrust of the government's sincerity among a growing body of women who were having their first experience at wage-earning. And in general we have the Standing Joint Committee on Industrial Women's Organizations reporting that "the promises to munition workers generally

of a fair minimum have so far materialized precisely in proportion to the energy of the organizations concerned."

The Fabian Research Department summed up developments in 1917 as follows:

> The trade unions have abandoned their practice for the period of the war, and admit female labor to every branch of engineering concerned in munitions of war, while the employer retains his own, and continues to exploit female labor at blackleg and sweated rates of wages.

And we find the government Commission of Inquiry into Industrial Unrest (July, 1917) presenting among the causes of unrest "inconsiderate treatment of women, whose wages are sometimes as low as 13 shillings"; "the introduction of female labor without consultation with the workpeople."

Other causes, it noted, were deficiency in housing, profiteering, particularly in food, but also in shipping and in contracts. The rank and file of the workers were strengthened in their distrust of the general drift of things by such evidence as the 1917 report of the Employers' Parliamentary Council, representing printers, builders, the shipping federation and other organizations of employers which urged the repeal of such legislative protections of labor as the trades disputes act and the factory acts.

The Garton Foundation, of which Mr. Balfour is a trustee, pointed out that:

> Many of the men who return from the trenches to the great munition and shipbuilding centers are, within a few weeks of their return, among those who exhibit most actively their discontent with present conditions. To a very large number of men now in the ranks, the fight against Germany is a fight against "Prussianism," and the spirit of Prussianism represents to them only an extreme example of that to which they object in the industrial and social institutions of their own country. They regard the present struggle as closely connected with the campaign against capitalist and class-domination at home. Unfortunately, some of the results of the war itself, such as the munitions acts and the compulsion acts, have intensified this identification of external and internal enemies. The working of these acts and the tribunals created under them has given rise to an amount of deep and widespread resentment which is the more dangerous because it is largely inarticulate. The very moderation and unselfishness shown by the responsible leaders of organized labor are looked upon by important sections of their following as a betrayal of the cause, and by some employers as a tactical opportunity.

Enter the Shop Stewards

This historical summary of the early years of the war lays bare what might be called the ground plan of the strikes in the engineering trades and the shop stewards movement emerging from them. It should now be clear why the most vigorous expression of self-government in industry has come dur-

ing the war and because of the war. The principle of "self-determination" was being fought for alike in Belgium and on the Clyde. A democracy cannot fight for a principle on the battle front, and at the same time permit its abrogation on the industrial front.

When the miners remained outside the Treasury Agreement, the rank and file of other unions saw that their own leaders had signed away their power of leadership. Particularly in the munition trades, where the tide of "dilution" swept in, the distrust of the pre-war union officials spread and grew among the trade union members.

But not only was there this war-reason why these trade union leaders had lost grip on their following. There was a reason in the organization of the union itself. In the munition or engineering industry, the unions are the Amalgamated Society of Engineers (275,000 members), the Friendly Society of Ironfounders (30,000), the Toolmakers (30,000), steam engine-makers (over 20,000), United Machine Workers (over 20,000), Brass-workers (18,000), Electrical Trades Union (12,000) and so on. In addition there are large engineering groups in the general labor unions, numbering over 300,000. This situation makes the A. S. E. the dominant union of the munition trades. It is made up of fitters, turners, machinists, millwrights, smiths, electricians, planers, borers, slotters, pattern-makers and other grades. Thus the A. S. E. is a craft union, but one composed of many kindred grades; the basis a common skill. It has 700 home branches, grouped in a series of district committees, covering each an industrial area. The Glasgow District Committee, for example, covers about 60 branches. The district committee has a measure of autonomy in framing the local industrial policy. It is composed of delegates from the various branches in the district; the branches are made up of delegates from various shops. (So the policy of the branch is broken up among the various interests of these various shops.) Just as the district committee is above the branches, so the executive council is above the district committees This executive council is the national administrative body, the cabinet of the trade union. There is also a judicial and a legislative body.

Now, the point to note in this analysis is that the only unit of the organization close to the workers in the shop is the branch, that the branch represents many shops (with conflicting interests), and that the branch does not deal directly with

the head office and central executive of the whole union, but, instead, deals with a district committee. In short, the rank and file of the A. S. E. are a long way removed from the central executive, and as result the workers have felt that they are not swiftly and directly represented by their officials. This constitution of the A S. E dates back to 1851. With the miners, the branch is based on the industrial unit of the coalpit With the engineers, the branch is based on the place where they live, not on the place where they work

To sum up, the war, bringing in standardized machinery and the dilution of labor, endangered the standard of living of the machine shop workers. Their officials made bargains with the government, which robbed them of power. The constitution of the union made it difficult for the rank and file to be directly represented. Accordingly, they acted independently of the Treasury agreement, of their officials, and of their constitution. They remade the structure and organization of their union, and they asserted the principle of self government in industry. They took action in the shop stewards' movement, which became the most revolutionary movement in the industrial field. It has broken ground from beneath the workers' control.

The rule-book of the A. S. E. says of the shop steward:

Rule 13.—Committees may also appoint shop-stewards in workshops or departments thereof in their respective districts, such stewards to be under the direction and control of the committee, by whom their duties shall be defined. The stewards shall be empowered to examine periodically the contribution cards of all members, and to demand that alleged members shall show their contribution cards for examination when starting work. They shall report at least once each quarter on all matters affecting the trade, and keep the committee posted with all events occurring in the various shops. They shall be paid 4s. for each quarterly report; namely, 3s. for duty performed, and 1s. for attendance and report to committee (conveners of shop-stewards shall receive 6d. extra); these to be payable by the district committee. Should a shop-steward be discharged through executing his duties he shall be entitled to full wage benefit. If it is necessary for stewards to attend other meetings of the Committee they shall be remunerated the same as witnesses attending committee meetings.

By the terms of the A. S E. constitution, then, the shop stewards had come to be recognized as part of the organization, but entirely under the jurisdiction of the district committee.

That sounds harmless enough. The shop steward was a dues-collector, reporting to his branch and district committee. But the war pressure, already described, crushed down on the worker, rendered his central officials powerless, and created a set of conditions in the shop which made necessary continuous

and immediate negotiation between the workers and their managers. The shop steward was the man who could perform this function. He was in the shop, was elected by the workers, and merely had to enlarge a function already exercised.

The Clyde Strikes

This is what happened. In the Parkhead Engineering Works, there had been before the war 20 shop stewards; and, under war conditions, the number of shop stewards was increased to 60. David Kirkwood was appointed convener or chief of the shop stewards, to deal with difficulties with the management, and report grievances.

When the munitions act of July 2, 1915, was passed, the workers in the Clyde District (which included the Parkhead Works) formed the Clyde Workers' Committee, which discussed the government's plan of dilution, and criticized the attitude of the executive officials of the A. S. E and other unions. As one labor witness described it:

> It was more a collection of angry trade unionists than anything else, which had sprung into existence because of the trouble which was going on, on the Clyde.
>
> Did you think it better to go to the Clyde Workers' Committee than to go to your own trade union officials?
>
> Oh, yes. Our own trade union officials were hopelessly tied up. They could do nothing.
>
> They were tied up by whom?
>
> Under the munitions act. Where the men in the workshop had previously sent their shop stewards to the A. S. E. to report to their district committee, the shop stewards were now sent to the Clyde Workers' Committee.

This committee of shop stewards issued a manifesto saying:

> The support given to the munitions act by the officials (of the A. S. E and other unions) was an act of treachery to the working classes. We are out for unity and closer organization of all trades in the industry, one union being the ultimate aim. We will support the officials just so long as they rightly represent the workers, but we will act independently immediately they misrepresent them.

This Clyde Workers' Committee advocated the view that the organized trade unionists should be allowed to share in the administration and control of workshop arrangements Kirkwood, a member of this committee, asked Lloyd George if he was prepared to give the workers a share in the management of the works Kirkwood said to Lloyd George that the workers, as Socialists, welcomed dilution of labor, which they regarded as the natural development in industrial conditions. But this scheme of dilution must be carried out under the control of the workers. Without such control, cheap wages would be introduced.

There we have the philosophy of the shop stewards' movement in their own words—workers' control of industry, beginning in the shop, and industrial unionism (in preference to craft unionism).

Lloyd George's conversation with Kirkwood took place in December, 1915. In the following March, came a strike in the Parkhead Works where Kirkwood was convener. As a result of the strike Kirkwood and nine others were arrested and deported, and the shop stewards' movement spread over Great Britain.

The immediate cause of the strike was a dilution scheme. Women were set at work in the howitzer shop. Kirkwood and two shop stewards interviewed the women, and saw to it that they were requested to join the National Federation of Women Workers. The management of the works objected to these activities of Kirkwood, though they had used him to conciliate the workers at other times. The result of the trouble was the strike and the deportations. The domestic radicalism of the shop stewards was in some cases yoked to an internationalism which is close to pacifism. Pacifism has been a militant doctrine in war-time England, and charges of "unpatriotic" utterances against Kirkwood and others entered into the first public sanction of the government's methods of repression.

The Clyde trouble was the most spectacular of the cases of friction in the munition trades, but it was by no means an isolated example. Unquestionably there has been remarkable work done by the production committee and the bodies created under the munitions act to bring employers and workers together. But instances in which wage awards have been hung up for months until the workers struck or threatened to strike have spread the notion, as already indicated, that you could not get anything from the authorities because it was right but only because you had the force to compel it. The result was to provoke strikes.

Under the war law, to strike was a serious offence, and to lead or counsel or order a strike was a very serious one. As we have seen, it was not the responsible national officers of the older unions that led the strikes. They stood by the government in their agreement. But because they did not stand by the men, in the minds of many of the workers themselves, the shop stewards came up. They led the men and paid the penalty.

Here again, in dealing with the strikes, the government policy did not work out. Its experience with deporting the strike leaders from the Clyde worked out in fact so disastrously that it did not attempt drastic measures wholesale. Deportation is something which is peculiarly offensive to the English worker. It smacks of South Africa; it goes against his ingrained ideas as to his rights in his own home, and in his own home town. And while the labor movement in England might have been of two minds as to the issues of the Clyde strike and the notions of its leaders, it was not of two minds as to the treatment of the Clyde strikers. McManus was deported to another city which had been a center of labor conservatism, with the result that that city thereafter became a hotbed. Kirkwood, it is said, has since been made a foreman in a government munitions factory.

The government took the position in the case of a strike that it would not treat with the workers unless they went back. But a labor leader stated to us that, as a matter of fact, the government had crumpled in, time and again, and beat the devil around the stump in some other way; for example, by granting the demand, or some measure of it, without treating with the workers. This seemed so sweeping a statement that we took it up with a government official who frankly admitted its truth. The result was to prove pretty conclusively that the way to prevent strikes is not to prohibit them.

A Share in Management

But, as brought out on the Clyde, the shop stewards stand for something more far-reaching and constructive in its implications than the right to strike. They were asserting the right to an increased share in workshop management. They were doing it without consultation with the old-line officials of the unions ("We do not recognize them," said Kirkwood), and they were acting through an organization of shop stewards, representing unofficially all the shops in the district.

The position of the shop steward is a detail in labor organization. But the impulse of which the shop steward is an expression is from the rank and file of the labor movement. He came at a moment of arrest, when the trade union officials had been blocked by war legislation. He gathered up the dynamic of the rank and file and went ahead, while the officials

had to mark time. He captured the imagination of the unrepresented workers by direct action just when compromise and postponement were being forced upon them by their former leaders.

The shop stewards as a group are young men, the central officials are middle-aged The shop stewards are not inured by a lifetime of troubled experience to piece-meal gains, to opportunism. In the hour when government officials were devising programs of workshop committees and joint councils, the shop stewards formed their own committees—a living embodiment of the Whitley Report.

The danger of unchartered liberty and youthful dynamic is clear Yet a keen observer of labor conditions expressed the belief to us that there would not be permanent antagonism between the self-created shop stewards and the shop committees set up under this national program. Nor will there be permanent antagonism between the shop stewards and the national unions of organized labor They are more likely harnessed to the main labor machine.

From the union standpoint, the immediate question is: Shall shop stewards of various trades receive recognition as the basis for common action in the works of a district? G. D. H. Cole has suggested a way out.

Let the general principle of organization be that of the works branch (instead of the residence branch) Then the shop stewards will become the branch officials, and the shop stewards' committee the branch committee. The unofficial workshop movement will have been taken up into, and made a part of, the official machinery of trade unionism.

At a national conference held between the Engineering Employers' Federation and the engineering trade unions, recognition was given to shop stewards, and their entry into negotiation in the early phases permitted. The A. S. E. did not sign the agreement. In December, 1917, representatives of the Engineering Employers' Federation and of thirteen trade unions held a conference. The unions included steam engine workers, toolmakers, smiths and strikers, brassfounders and metal mechanics, blacksmiths and iron workers, electrical trades union, workers' union, journeymen brassfounders, coremakers, general workers, union of enginemen. They came to an agreement that the functions of the stewards so far as they are concerned with the avoidance of disputes will be on the following lines:

A workman or workmen desiring to raise any question in which he or they are directly concerned shall in the first instance discuss the same with his or their foreman.

Failing settlement the question shall, if desired, be taken up with the management by the appropriate shop stewards and one of the workmen directly concerned.

If no settlement is arrived at the question may, at the request of either party, be further considered at a meeting to be arranged between the management and the appropriate shop steward, together with a deputation of the workmen directly concerned. At this meeting the organizing district delegate may be present, in which event a representative of the employers' association shall also be present.

The question may thereafter be referred for further consideration in terms of the provisions for avoiding disputes.

No stoppage of work shall take place until the question has been fully dealt with in accordance with this agreement and with the provisions for avoiding disputes.

Meanwhile, the shop stewards' movement is spreading out into woodworking trades, textiles and the boot and shoe trades.[1]

A prophet and philosopher of its extension (himself one of the leaders) is J. T. Murphy, of Sheffield, whose pamphlet, The Workers' Committee, might be called the official exposition of the movement. He believes that the new trade union organization will be based on the shop and the works, instead of the craft and the industry. He gives the power of final decision always to the rank and file, and never to the upper stories of organization. He visions shop stewards, shop committees, plant committees, district committees and then a national organization of districts.

But one thing is sure. While the government plans Whitley Committees (with the consent of the employer and the worker), and while farseeing employers encourage them, elsewhere the workers themselves elect their own stewards, choose their own committees, and set going from the bottom up the movement toward workers' control, which in its various embodiments will dominate industrial reconstruction in England. The shop stewards are those who have broken with tradition

[1] The manufacturing sections of the cotton industry are now beginning to follow the spinners in the creation of shop committees. The Ashton and District Textile Manufacturing Trades Federation has elaborated a scheme for the appointment of shop stewards and shop committees. A steward is to be appointed for every fifteen or twenty workers, and the expenses are to be met by a shop levy of 1d. monthly. The stewards are to elect from themselves shop committees, and grievances are to be submitted to these committees, which will take them up with the management. Failing a settlement at this stage, the matter will be carried to the district Trade Union organization. Thus the movement towards workshop organization goes on spreading from one section of workers to another.

The Oldham operative cotton spinners have approved the adoption of the shop steward principal in the cotton mills by a majority of nearly two to one It is provided under the scheme that there shall be a shop club at each mill, that all spinners at the mills must be members, and that the chairman, secretary, and committee of the respective shop clubs shall be representatives to the management in case of any grievance. Each shop club is to appoint two representatives to attend the district monthly meetings and report on the proceedings to their club.

at the place where the fight is hardest—in their own organization, in their own workshop.

THE SHOP STEWARDS' MOVEMENT[1]

The ascendency of the shop stewards is striking; for the movement is literally in its infancy. Fifteen months ago but few persons, even in England, knew anything about it. The shop stewards' control first came into prominence in November, 1917, during the big strike in the munitions factories at Coventry. The object of the strike was to obtain recognition for the shop stewards' committees of the various works in the district. The demand was first made in a single plant, at which there has been recrudescent trouble for a long period. It was refused by the management, on the ground that the whole question of recognition was the subject of negotiations between the firm and the official representatives of the union. The consequence was a strike in this establishment; within a week it had become general throughout Coventry. The situation there greatly alarmed public opinion, because the vital airplane industry was tied up, and the Government hastened to settle the strike. The shop stewards' committees were recognized in the engineering trade. The conference for the settlement of the Coventry disputes showed clearly that the recognition of the new movement was a deal not between the workers and the employers, or between the latter and the State, but between the rank and file and the trade union.

Shop stewards are by no means entirely new functionaries in the British labor world. As a matter of fact, shop stewards have always been the agents for the trade union branches (the smallest units of union activities). But the rank-and-file movement, which has loomed so large in the last year and is known as the shop stewards' movement, has no connection with the old union shop stewards. As an organization, it is doubtless a product of the war, and it has come into prominence under pressure of the war. But the adherents of the new movement assert that the shop steward idea was developing for many years before the war. They are confident that had there been no war, the shop stewards' organization would sooner or later have come to grips with the trade unions, and finally supplanted

[1] From the Nation. 108:192-3. February 8, 1919.

them. They maintain that the industrial reaction against the futility of the doctrine that economic power can be acquired primarily by parliamentary political action (a doctrine extremely popular with British labor for the last twenty years) had become evident before the war. In spite of the great triumph of political labor, which at the outbreak of the war was safely intrenched in Parliament, economically British labor was weaker than before. While capital gained enormous power under the flourishing conditions of British industry, labor made no corresponding gain. The exaggerated hopes of Parliamentary successes, which ran high after the election of 1910, soon gave way to disappointment and depression, and the idea that industrial power is the real expression of working-class strength gradually grew in popularity. The new shop stewards' movement was the accumulated expression of this idea. But it could only come to a head when the war demonstrated the weakness of trade unionism and made the shop the unit of industrial activity.

ANOTHER EXPLANATION[1]

The shop stewards consider themselves the harbingers of a new unionism founded on a new democratic basis of real equality for all workers. The basis of the new unionism is the workshop, which is the natural unit for labor amalgamation and industrial activity. The shop stewards are chosen by all workers in the shop, skilled and unskilled alike, irrespective of the particular craft or affiliation. The complete and final amalgamation of the workers in the shop is the first step towards the great industrial union.

THE BRITISH SHOP STEWARD MOVEMENT[2]

What is known as the "Shop Steward Movement" in Great Britain is merely the machinery by which the rank and file of the organized workers have taken control of the Labor movement.

The name "Shop Stewards" is not new in British industry. Before the War the agents for the regular Trade Union

[1] From the Nation. 108:279. February 22, 1919.
[2] By George Ellery. The Voice of Labor. 1:13-14. August 30, 1919. (This article represents the subject from a radical's viewpoint—Ed.)

Branches—like our Local Unions in this country—were called Shop Stewards. But the present movement has no connection with the old Union Shop Stewards.

The Shop Stewards are now elected by all the workers of every trade in each shop or plant, and are assisted by a Shop Steward's Committee, composed of delegates from each trade.

Shop Stewards vs. Trade Unionism

Of course this form of organization is directly opposed to the Trade-Unionism characteristic of British—as well as American—Organized Labor. Trade-Unionism is based upon the division of the workers into crafts, with the skilled workers in a preferred position; its aim is simply to attempt to regulate wages to keep up with the cost of living, and ultimately, to secure for Labor a voice in the determination of his job.

The Shop Steward movement, however, demands more than that Its immediate aim is self-government for the workers, both in the shop and throughout industry, its ideal is the *abolition of capitalist production,* and the control of industry by the workers In the Labor movement, it stands for the breaking down of craft-lines, organization by shop and industry, instead of by trade, and direct election and control of Union officials.

British Labor and Politics

The War undoubtedly gave birth to the Shop Steward movement, but the causes for it existed long before. For the past twenty years British Labor leaders had been absorbed in politics. The British Labor Party was built up on the idea that *the workers can acquire economic power through electing Labor men to Parliament.* The Labor Party was very successful—successful to such an extent that at the outbreak of the War there was a powerful Labor delegation in Parliament; but at the same time, British Labor was economically weaker than before. The capitalists gained colossal wealth, but Labor fell more and more behind The elections of 1910 made it seem as if the Labor Party would soon be all-powerful in Parliament—but it soon become evident that parliamentary action would not help.

British Labor, like American Labor, has swung periodically backward and forward between political and industrial action.

The recruiting movement toward industrial action, which was expressed in the formation of the Triple Alliance of Miners, Railwaymen and Transport Workers shortly before the War, was still in full swing when the War broke out.

How the War Smashed the Unions

Also the development of modern industry, with its subdivisions of crafts, and its methods of speeding-up, produced the same tendency toward Industrial Unionism that has been evident in this country. And as in America, the reactionary form of Trade-Union organization, and the reactionary policies of the Trade-Union officials, placed the workers at a disadvantage, and actually held them back.

At the beginning of the War, the British Government found that it was necessary above all things to get increased production, which was prevented by Trade-Union rules and regulations, made to protect Labor by limiting hours of work The Government thereupon called in the Labor "leaders," and asked them to give up all Union privileges for the duration of the War.

The Government solemnly promised that all Union rules and practices should be completely restored when peace came. "Any departure during the war from the practice and ruling in the workshops, shipyards and other industries prior to the war, shall be only for the period of the war, and must be absolutely and completely reinstated when the war is over" Thus said the Munitions Act.

By the Treasury Agreement of March, 1915, the Unions, through their officials, renounced all the essential features of Trade-Unionism; shop rules and regulations, Union practices, *even the right to strike.*

The Importance of Labor

In return, the Government invited the Trade Unions to cooperate with it in making munitions and supplies. Trade Union officials formed part of Munitions Boards, sat upon Government Commissions and Tribunals, and were treated with the greatest respect. In time of crisis the Government discovered that the industrial workers were of supreme importance; while on the other hand, the capitalists proved themselves practically inca-

pable of managing industry. In many cases the Government was compelled to take over industries—just as in this country, the bad management of the railroads forced the Government to assume control.

But all this power and glory, while it strengthened the self-respect of the workers, did not make them *economically* more powerful. As a matter of fact, the rank and file, deprived of all safeguards, were driven at frightful speed.

Officials Against the Workers

At first, bewildered by the new conditions and the patriotic clap-trap of the capitalistic press, the workers submitted. Before long, however, they began to wake up to the fact that the slowly-accumulated gains of half a century had been swept away. Women poured into industry; "dilution" grew by leaps and bounds—the same process that went on among the Machinists of Bridgeport, Conn., whereby unskilled men were taught to do each one part of a skilled man's job, and so replaced the skilled men at lower wages; conscription came, munitions legislation, which made the workers almost serfs, then conscription of labor.

At first all these demands were indignantly rejected by Labor. Yet, supported by the Trade Union leaders, the Government was able to put them through.

Resentment of the Rank and File

The resentment of the British workers grew and grew, accumulating not so much against the Government as against the Trade Union leaders. Deprived of the support of their Unions, the workers, driven to the wall, developed their own form of resistance—the Shop Stewards and Shop Stewards Committees.

Moreover, there was another cause for the new form of organization. British industry had developed more in three or four years than in the preceding thirty. The removal of Trade Union restrictions, also, had changed the very face of the Labor movement. The women workers and the "dilutees" robbed of their old meaning the words "skilled" and "unskilled." Union jurisdictional disputes were suspended, and new industrial classifications, unclassified, grew more and more numerous. Deprived of their old-time Union rules and guideposts,

the workers became more and more a mass, a class united on the job. In the stress and storm of everyday work Labor was adapting itself to the new conditions, seeking new weapons, developing its own ideas and its own leaders from the rank and file.

The Workers Begin to Move

In the spring of 1917, in spite of the prohibition of strikes, a number of important walk-outs took place. These were the "disturbances" mentioned in dispatches to the American newspapers, which were described as strange movements, without adequate demands. In fact, nobody understood what was happening. The Trade Union officials hastened to the disturbed areas and ordered the workers back—and the workers refused to go back! The Government became alarmed. It arrested strike committees and leaders; it appealed; it threatened; but the unrest grew. A Government Commission was appointed to investigate—and it was then that the world discovered that the British workers didn't give a tinker's damn about the restoration of Trade Union rules. Labor was going in a new direction—toward industrial control

Out of this investigation, in the fall of 1917, came the appointment of the Whitely Commission, which proposed the establishment of local Industrial Councils, composed partly of workers and partly of capitalists, to administer industry. But the workers were not satisfied with the Whitely Council.

In November, 1917, the Shop Steward Movement first appeared in all its power, in the munitions-strike at Coventry. The object of the strike was to get recognition for the Shop Stewards' Committees of the various works in the district. The demand was first made in a single plant, at which there had been much disturbance. It was refused by the management, on the ground that the employers were then negotiating with the Trade Union officials for recognition of the Unions. Within a week there was a general strike throughout Coventry. The Government was very much alarmed, because the vital aeroplane industry was tied up. The consequence was that the Machinists won their Shop Steward recognition. Since then Shop Steward strikes have been pulled off all over England, controlled by the rank and file in the shops, with astonishing success. . . . These strikes were bitterly fought by the Trade Union machines and leaders.

The Bitter Struggle

At the present time the struggle between the Trade Unions and the Shop Steward Committees is very bitter. The Trade Union officials are supported by the British Premier and the Tory Parliament against the rank and file.

Lloyd George's speech in the House of Commons on "Labor unrest," condemned the Shop Steward movement very strongly, declaring that it was a "sedulous attempt to undermine confidence in Trade Union leaders." The Government is spending a great deal of time studying "how to re-establish the authority of the Trade Unions."

THE PASSING OF THE BRITISH SHOP STEWARD MOVEMENT[1]

Among the many unusual developments in the course of the abnormal conditions which characterized the industrial situation in Great Britain during the war, few were viewed with greater interest than the so-called "shop stewards movement." It was mainly in its beginnings a war-time schism from regular trade unionism, and later a thrust toward nationalizing and democratizing industry. Following its rise and rapid growth, most extravagant claims were made for it in various radical publications in the United States How unsubstantial these claims were is, I think, conclusively shown in the history of the shop stewards movement which follows, for it evidences on how slight foundations utopias may be built by impatient social perfectionists, and also how widely the British and American trade union systems differ in organization, practice and effectiveness

Shop Spokesmen Long a Feature

In various British industries, shop spokesmen chosen by their fellow wage-workers have long been a necessary feature of works operation

In Britain, with the war, came hastily assembled working forces in large new munitions works and other manufactories

[1] By James W. Sullivan, National Civic Federation Review. 4:3-4. August 30, 1919. (This article represents the attitude of organized labor in the United States—Ed.)

In these establishments, department representatives of the workers were usually recognized as a necessity by the employers, and, prompt decisions regarding working conditions for all the departments being frequently required, the various representatives on presenting themselves for conference were recognized as a general shop committee

In the non-union shops these committees could directly adjust differences, to the extent of the powers conceded them by the employers and their fellow workers. But in the union shops a first and serious obstacle to speedy decision existed in the unit organization of certain trade unions, especially that of the machinists (in England, "engineers")

Membership by Living Areas

In a British branch union of engineers, the membership is by living areas and not by working areas Hence the branch may be made up of members at jobs in various other living areas, and contrariwise a shop force may be made up of members of different branch unions. British trade unionists account for this form of unit organization by the fact that usually the "branch" combines trade union with "friendly society" features. Workmen's organization benefits are better administered by neighbors, it is argued, than by shopmates living far apart, some of them casual workers.

Previous to the war, by the practice of the engineering trade union, which for at least half a century had authorized shop committees, a "convener of committee" was appointed in case of trouble, but there was no trade union official present regularly as deputy to carry out affairs of the general union In American trade unions the confusion of this situation is obviated by making the workshop, or the shops of a given locality, the unit for the branch union, with its chairman representing the general union in local administration.

Lack of Unity in Organization

It was in this lack of shop unity of organization, and consequently of direct executive union action, that during the war troubles through shop stewards, both independent and union, clogged the work.

This gap in efficiency characterized some of the largest Brit-

ish trade unions having members engaged in war work. Continuous operation necessary, the shop stewards, union and unorganized, learned to take on authority for themselves. Consequently, union stewards drifted away from control by their headquarters; stewards for the unorganized, new-blood "labor leaders," became powerful men of the day. With the dilution of skilled labor came relaxed union organization together with distrust of the higher trade union officials because of their impotence in sudden crises.

Here was opportunity for the modern youthful agitator—energetic, unafraid, unencumbered, chafing under restraint from his elders in union positions. When fired by socialistic faith, the steward standing for the unorganized recked little of immediate consequences could he but promote the cause. He was in office for that purpose.

Churchill Recognizes Stewards

It was at this stage that a deputation from the stewards of the Woolwich Arsenal was assured by Winston Churchill as Minister of Munitions that they should be the body consulted concerning work in that important government establishment, thus ignoring the regular union officials. Similar recognition was soon extended to other large industrial centers.

District committees, seeing shop stewards recognized and setting aside union laws, ventured to follow suit, and in turn were suspended. In many parts of the country local, unofficial shop or craft spokesmen practically dominated in dealings with perplexed employers, uncertain whether agreements were to be observed.

Differing from the United States, there was no authorized central executive standing for a general wage-workers' organization, covering all occupations for the entire country, with which employers, singly or in bodies, might treat.

American Federation's Proved Efficiency

The capability of the American Federation of Labor to come to a working understanding with our government on its entering the war, and to offer to employers a complete union mechanism applicable to every industry throughout the country, with models of rules, regulations and organization for the

rapidly forming unorganized working forces, even to having an authorized union agent in every considerable workshop, is a matter of very recent history.

Everyone of the one hundred and eleven general ("national" or "international") unions covers comprehensively as to its own trade and exclusively of all other trades the whole of the United States. A traveling member of any local union is thus entitled to free, direct, unobstructed membership in every other local union of his occupation throughout the country. The workshop local unions uniformly represent, not living but working districts; in this respect certain building trades allowing latitude. No union man is under constraint to support any political party.

The Secretary of the American Federation of Labor reported in 1919, before the accession of the Brotherhoods, that the membership was 3,260,068, regular dues for the previous year of exactly that number having been paid into the treasury. Exempted members not being paid for—the sick, the unemployed, the idle by lockout or strike, an average year by year of approximately 10 per cent—the true membership was then 3,600,000. Today the grand total, with the Brotherhoods, ranges from 4,200,000 to 4,500,000.

Four "National" British Unions

The British labor movement, differing fundamentally from that of America is politico-economic in character. It has four separate organizations, varying in type and purpose:

(1) The Trade Union Congress, meeting annually to decide principally upon the several measures to be asked of Parliament and to elect its "Parliamentary Committee," whose mandate is "to watch all legislation affecting labor." The Secretary's report of the 1918 meeting gives the total membership as 4,532,085; the number of delegates 881, representing 262 societies.

(2) The "General Federation of Trade Unions," described by its Secretary as "the largest purely trade union organization outside of the United States," and as having March 31, 1,215,107 members.

(3) The Co-operative Union, its fraternal delegate to the Congress reporting a membership of 3,500,000, the great bulk trade-unionists; associated since 1917 in the Labor Party.

(4) The British Labor Party, its membership composed of wage-workers and other citizens, mixed, polling a vote equal to somewhat more than half the total membership claimed for the trade unions in the Congress and represented in Parliament by 59 out of 707 members

Membership Figures Disconcerting

While 4,532,085, was recorded as the membership represented at the British Trade Union Congress of 1918 at Derby, these figures stand for the total number for which entrance fees were paid by the delegates at their option at the rate of ten shillings or less per 1,000. Between the membership of the unions reported, separately or in total, nearly all in round numbers, in this way in the Congress proceedings, and those given officially in detail in other union or government publications, there is wide divergence.

In comparatively few cases are the 262 organizations participating in the British Trade Union Congress of 1918 national in the sense of representing either England or the kingdom In the "National Federation of General Workers," for instance, are nine organizations (four of them having "National" in their titles), all separately represented in the Congress, each with its own headquarters and independent administrative machinery, and mostly with special fields of operation, local or regional, the total membership claimed being 961,466 Similar instances might be cited almost ad infinitum.

British Tribute to Federation

Commenting on the business-like completeness, unity and efficiency of the American Federation of Labor, a British trade unionist, for years high in the councils of the movement, said: "I believe that the superiority in organization of the American Federation of Labor is due largely to the fact that among its originators were Englishmen who, having had experience with the shortcomings of British organization, suggested correct forms for America." Cole, an indefatigable "intellectual" writer on labor matters, suggests, as to the local union: "Let the general principle be that of the works branch (instead of the residence branch)." British union and non-union employ-

ers alike frequently express the desirability of facing representatives of all their employees directly without loss of time

In 1918 the British Parliamentary Committee's income was, in round numbers, $45,000, and its expenditures $35,000. It neither owns the building in which its offices are located nor issues a periodical. It does not employ organizers. The American Federation's income last year was more than $650,000; its expenditures nearly $590,000 In its new headquarters building in Washington it has invested $200,000 It paid for printing and publishing the *American Federationist* $122,000. It employed 112 paid organizers, fifty of them on full time, at an expense of $165,000, besides directing a corps of more than a thousand volunteer organizers and maintaining office communication with the numerous paid organizers of the separate national and local unions.

Abundant confirmation of the statements made previously in this article is found in writings of numerous leaders in the various branches of the British labor movement. For instance, Arthur Henderson, Secretary of the Labor Party, wrote in the *Daily News* of March 27 that "the pressing need of organized labor was fewer trade unions and more trade unionists." J H. Thomas, Secretary of the National Union of Railwaymen, is quoted in the Manchester *Evening Chronicle* as saying, "The gravest danger now is not between the Government and the railwaymen, but between the unions themselves."

However, crude and clumsy as it is, British trade unionism possessed sufficient resisting power to throw off the shop steward fever, after the armistice came. From that time the stewards never won a strike and the mass of the wage-workers in the engineering trade repudiated both irregular leadership and insurrectional tactics. Product of the war emergency, with which British trade unionism was incapable of coping, the stewards' growth and power passed away with the cessation of war materials.

In the United States, as a social reformer, the shop steward never had a footing with its workers To American trade unionists, accustomed to their own complete organization mechanism, as a workshop official supplementary to the union representatives he would have been classed with the proverbial fifth wheel to a wagon

SCIENTIFIC MANAGEMENT

BRIEF FOR SCIENTIFIC MANAGEMENT[1]

Efficiency in the best sense is constructive rather than destructive and it is this phase that interests America at a time when the markets of the world are open to her as never before. What efficiency means to the manufacturer, the employee and to the community we have stated briefly in the following outline:—

A—FOR THE MANUFACTURER, Scientific Management

I Cheapens the cost of production.
II Eliminates labor troubles.
III Increases output without increasing investment.
IV Improves quality of product.
V Insures prompt deliveries.

I A cheaper cost of production means

(a) Greater profits as a whole and a lower cost per unit, which brings

(b) Greater business stability, because a lower selling price permits a wider market to be covered, doing away with the effects of local business depressions;

(c) Fewer shutdowns. Lower costs allows the factory to run at a profit long after competitors have to shut down to avoid loss.

II The elimination of labor troubles results in avoiding the expense of

(a) Shutdowns from strikes and lockouts.
(b) Loss of property and possibly life.
(c) Ill feeling on the part of workmen.

III An increase of output without increase of investment means

(a) Greater total profits—more units to sell.

(b) No necessity for raising more capital—with possible change in control.

(c) Slight increase in overhead expense.

[1] By Dwight T. Farnham, Consulting Engineer, St. Louis, Mo.

IV An improved quality of product
(a) Decreases complaints and consequent loss of business.
(b) Facilitates sales.
(c) Increases demand.
V Prompt deliveries mean
(a) Satisfied customers.
(b) Increase in business through reputation for reliability.

B—FOR THE EMPLOYEE, Scientific Management Means

I Higher pay
II Shorter hours.
III Steady employment
IV Less fatigue.
V Better satisfaction in work.
VI Education leading to better life and higher ideals

C—TO THE COMMUNITY, Scientific Management Means

I Better citizens.
II Lower taxes.
III Absence of strikes.
IV Steady flow of money from without.
V Less hard times.
VI Lower cost of living.

To understand how this is possible, it is necessary to explain briefly the two prevalent methods of handling labor.

Day Wage System

Workers are paid for time served, regardless of the work done.

The lazy man or the systematic soldierer receives as much pay as the hard working ambitious laborer.

The naturally ambitious worker has no incentive to do more than his lazy neighbor and probably does less, being better able to figure out and put into effect schemes for soldiering.

The foreman's usual means of determining the efficiency of his crew is their general appearance of bustle.

There is no incentive for the workmen to learn from each other, for the foreman to teach his men better methods, even

if he knows them. The foreman is usually judged by the apparent busyness of his gang.

Day work is a grim game between the foreman and the laborers. His part is to drive them into doing as much as possible, by roaring at them and by keeping ever present the fear of discharge. Their part is to retain their jobs, meantime doing as little work as possible.

Piece Work System

Theoretically, since the workman is rewarded in direct proportion to the work he does, the ambitious worker makes the maximum of which he is capable, the lazy worker is proportionately penalized and the output of the shop is maintained at the highest level; supervision is required only to maintain quality and it is to each worker's advantage to keep his machine in the best possible shape.

Actually the whole thing goes to pieces on the difficulty of setting proper piece rates. In the usual course of events it is necessary to set a new piece rate before any quantity of the article in question has been manufactured. Setting the rate therefore resolves itself into an argument between the boss and the worker, based on past records, and the final bargain is a compromise.

As the worker gains experience in making a new article he naturally cuts the time per piece—as much as he dares—and earns as much as he dares—knowing from past experience that if his daily earnings go beyond a certain point his rate per piece will be cut.

It is to the worker's advantage to set the rate as high as possible, so that he may earn as much as his boss will let him with the least possible effort—especially as his record on this job will be used as a basis for bargaining on the next job.

All this leads to certain subterfuges which hurt the employer and have a bad effect upon the character of the employee. If the worker discovers a quicker way to do the job he keeps it to himself. That becomes one of his reserves to draw on when the boss drives him to the limit He does not spend any time inventing new tools or devices to do the work more quickly. He is willing that there should be enough breakdowns so that the boss will have to allow for breakdowns next bargain day. He favors a slow speed and lost motion on his machine and he

argues the necessity of various false motions in handling the material.

The weak are driven too fast, knowing only speed and strenuousness where under a different system they would be carefully taught every detail of the work, the obstacles removed and gradually fitted to do efficient work.

The general effect of the piece work system is to place a premium on inefficiency and hypocrisy to make for suspicion, mutual distrust and antagonism between employer and employee.

A—For the Manufacturer

I The cost of production is cheapened by scientific management as follows:

1 Labor cost is reduced by each workman doing as much work as possible because:—

(a) It is to his advantage to do so as the bonus system pays him fairly and justly in proportion to what he accomplishes.

(b) There is no chance for soldiering—since the shortest time in which the work can be done is determined by scientific methods—*before* he begins the work.

(c) The worker's motions are analyzed, all unnecessary ones eliminated and the laws of physics, anatomy and psychology brought to bear upon the balance to assist him.

(d) His machine is speeded for production in the shortest time.

(e) Tools best adapted for the work are furnished in the finest condition.

(f) All obstacles to continuous performance are removed, breakdowns are reduced to a minimum, supplies are delivered as needed, no time is lost asking for instructions or hunting foremen.

(g) Machines are so grouped as to reduce the movement of material to a minimum and the worker has the advantage of securing the right thing, at the right place at the right time.

(h) The worker's skill is increased and he is stimulated to suggest improved methods and devices.

(i) He has to assist him, combined and in usable form, the past best practice, the experience and intelligence of his fellow workers, the ability of his superiors and all extant scientific knowledge.

(j) The management does the work for which it is best fitted and the men the work for which they are best fitted.

(k) The best class of labor is attracted and held, and a lower class of labor can do a higher class of work.

(l) The men are better contented, more interested in the work, in better health and a greater output per man is possible.

(m) The various departments are so balanced that local congestion is replaced by a continuous pull from each department.

2 Material cost is reduced:

(a) By a systematic elimination of waste in manufacture.

(b) By a system of storage which reduces to a minimum:—

(1) Stock carried.

(2) Deterioration in storage.

(c) By a scientific selection of the most suitable material.

3 Overhead cost is reduced since intensive management means a greater output with the same labor force and equipment. The following charges are therefore divided by a larger amount and the cost per unit is reduced:—

(a) Superintendence and general office,

(b) Rent or interest on investment in land, buildings, machinery, tools and various sorts of equipment.

(c) Taxes, insurance,

(d) Depreciation,

(e) Repairs.

(f) Power, water, light, heat and ventilation.

Wastes of power, floor space, lighting, etc., are reduced.

Losses due to inaccurate cost estimates are reduced by predetermination of the costs of manufacture.

4 Competent management is continuously assured.

(a) Once a best method—either of doing the work or meeting a condition—is determined it becomes a permanent record of the company so that the expense of solving the problem does not have to be incurred more than once. Costly mistakes are not repeated and the concern ceases to be the personal experimental school of new executives.

(b) The capabilities of various subordinates are more exactly determined so that the likelihood of mistaken promotions, which are costly, are reduced.

(c) Trade secrets become the property of the company.

(d) Faults, whether of men or managers, are automatically traced to their source.

(e) Exact and definite knowledge takes the place of bluffing; this applies to men, foremen, superintendents and managers Those who are incompetent are automatically forced out

(f) Unnecessary executive work is eliminated by the introduction of the exception principle which brings only abnormal conditions, but those forcibly to the attention of the management.

II Labor troubles are eliminated by scientific management.

(a) Since the interests of employer and employee are made identical The employee is benefitted directly in proportion to his part in lowering the cost of manufacture

(b) Men are not herded together in classes, and the payment of classes instead of men ceases to lead to collective bargaining, strikes, etc.

(c) Mutual respect takes the place of mutual distrust since:—

(d) The worker is insured a fair deal by scientifically and impartially predetermined rates. It is no longer necessary for the employer to cut rates, break his word, etc., and it is no longer necessary for the men to deceive their employer as to the amount of work which is possible.

(e) Bluffing is eliminated on both sides.

(f) Driving by the foremen is replaced by their interested assistance.

(g) Blame is placed where it belongs.

(h) Co-operation takes the place of the fight for advantage.

(i) Labor is educated to habits of industry which lead to better habits of life, to contentment and happiness

III An increased output is obtained without increasing the investment in real estate, plant or equipment, since the same labor force housed in the same buildings and using the same machines turn out a vastly greater product.

IV An improved quality of product is obtained by:—

(a) Making it as much to the worker's advantage to produce quality as quantity.

(b) Reducing the chance of misunderstanding in regard to the method of doing the work.

(c) The elimination of dreaming over the work.

(d) The abolition of strenuousness.

(e) Scientifically determining the best adapted material.

(f) Furnishing the tool and machine calculated to do the best work.

(g) Concentrating the best knowledge of the best way to do the work in such a manner that it bears directly upon the work in hand.

V Prompt deliveries are insured by scientific management by means of

(a) A storage system which reduces delays through lack of material

(b) Figuring systematically the time required for the manufacture before making promises to the customer and then keeping the time allowed for making each part forcibly before the department responsible.

(c) So sorting the material throughout the course of the manufacture that the parts are ready when wanted and in the order wanted in each department.

B—For the Employee

I Higher pay is secured by scientific management since the workman is allowed to let himself out without fear of having his pay cut and consequently earns more.

He is assisted in this by having all obstacles to rapid performance removed, breakdowns reduced, material delivered promptly, and the proper tools furnished in the best condition. He loses no time hunting foremen for instructions.

The best method of doing the work is figured out for him so that in doing his work he has the advantage of the best brains and the best experience in concentrated form.

As a result he can pay his employer for having this done for him and still earn from 20 to 40% more wages.

II Shorter hours are secured in many cases although this is dependent upon the nature of the work and the established working day. Frequently scientific analysis of the work has resulted in a shorter working day, higher wages and an increased profit to the manufacturer.

III Steady employment is secured as a result of the elimination of labor troubles resulting in strikes and lockouts and in the reduction of shutdowns due to dull times by means of the wider market reached and by the advantage more efficient operation gives the manufacturer over his competitors.

IV-VI Less fatigue, satisfaction in work, education, etc., are made possible by the methods of scientific management. The work is analyzed, each motion is studied and is made as easy as possible. All unnecessary motions are eliminated, rest periods are introduced where necessary, conditions are lined up to assist the worker and where he is not physically or temperamentally suited to the particular work a transfer is made. The work is speeded to the point where it exhilarates, being neither fatiguingly slow nor exhaustingly strenuous.

The combination of pay in proportion to work, incentive for ingenuity, and clear and intelligent instructions, means less worry and greater possible interest in the work.

Ambition is substituted as an incentive for the fear of discharge. The foreman instead of a driver becomes a friendly teacher. Co-operation is substituted for antagonism. Deception is unprofitable and hate is succeeded by mutual respect.

The worker's increased knowledge of his work, his acquired habits of industry, and his better ideals make him a better man, physically, mentally and morally which benefits him as well as the community

C—To the Community

I-VI Scientific management generally introduced into the industries of a community means much to the community. The more good citizens, the greater is the benefit to all the citizens There are fewer in jails and hospitals and the taxpayers are benefitted. The merchants are paid more promptly, there are fewer failures and lower prices. The banks are benefitted and new industries grow. New industries seek a community free from labor troubles. As the factories increase and grow money from a wider territory flows into the community and all prosper. Business becomes more stable. If times are dull in one section, the manufacturer may reach another market and the more industries a town possesses, the more is that town's prosperity insured.

If wages are increased without reduction of profit to the manufacturer he maintains his price and the employee can buy

more of that produced for his increased pay than he could before he received his raise It makes no difference whether he buys from his own or someone else's employer, he can get more for his money as long as wages can be raised without increasing prices. What you can get for your money determines whether the cost of living is high or low. Any system then which makes it possible for the manufacturer to profitably raise wages without raising prices reduces the cost of living to the community and to the nation.

Elements of Scientific Management

Scientific management combines, with the present best principles of management, among others, the following special features:—

1 Analytical time study—under which—

(a) The best practice is timed, one motion at a time and this is—

(b) Divided into—

(1) Necessary motions—(which are improved upon, following the laws of motion study).

(2) Unnecessary motions—(which are eliminated).

(3) Delays—(which are analyzed and as far as possible eliminated).

2 Written instruction card—which combines—

(a) The results of analytical time study.

(b) The knowledge and experience of the men, foremen, superintendents, etc.

(c) The knowledge and science of the industrial engineer, mechanical engineering, the laws of heavy and light labor, of fatigue, of mental and physical fitness to tasks, etc., etc.

(d) And establishes the correct time for each motion.

3 Bonus for workmen—which rewards the worker for doing the work according to the instruction card, in proportion to his accomplishment. This usually includes day rate in case of failure and partial reward for partial success.

4 Bonus for foremen—and to all who assist the workman in accomplishing his task.

5 Centralization and specialization in all activities, comprising especially

(a) Despatching—Instead of sending each part along in a haphazard fashion, dependent upon the care of each workman or foreman, the matter of the movement of parts is concentrated in one department, or made the business of one man, who makes the movement of each part and its arrival on time his special study and is held responsible. This work covers also the arrival of material and supplies at the proper time.

(b) Routing—The shortest and most economical path of each part through the shop is studied and established and the responsibility for its following this route is fixed.

(c) Functional foremanship—Instead of each boss and foreman trying to be a "jack of all trades" each one specializes in some one portion of the work—covering more men but less subjects

(d) Staff investigation—Certain problems requiring special study and development are turned over to one man or group of men. This would include a study of the best adapted tool for the work, the creation of new machines, the determination of the most economical material and the methods of rendering repair work permanent. Standards are established and the line organization is enabled to do each sort of work in the best way. The industrial engineer assists in this work and the results become a record of the company.

Results of Scientific Management

Over 50,000 workmen in the United States are now employed under this system and they are receiving from 30 to 100% higher daily wages than are paid to men of similar calibre with whom they are surrounded, while companies employing them are more prosperous than ever before. The output per man and per machine has been doubled and there has never been a strike among the men working under the system.

A few examples of the application of the principle of scientific management to various industries follow:—[1]

1 Pig iron handling: Unloading from box cars—Wages increased 69% ($ .16 to $ .27 per hour); output increased 500% (2 tons per hour to 10 tons); costs cut 66% (from

[1] The figures here given applied at the time this article was written (1916). Later figures are not available.—Ed.

$ .08 to $ .27 per ton). In Bethlehem Steel Co.'s yards, various movements—Wages increased 60% ($1.15 to $1.85 per day); output, 300% (from 12 tons to 48 tons per day); cost cut 60% (from $ .097 to $ .038 per ton).

2 Shoveling: Various materials in Bethlehem Steel Co.'s yards—Wages increased 60% ($1.15 to $1.88 per day); cost per ton reduced 54% (from $ .073 to $ .033). The saving the first year amounted to $36,000, the second year to $80,000.

3 Iron moulding—Wages increased 75% ($3.28 to $5.74 per man); output increased 265% (time cut from 53 to 20 minutes per piece); and costs cut 53% ($1.17 to $ .54 per piece).

4 Bricklaying: Union men averaged 350 brick per hour instead of 120, with less fatigue, making five motions instead of 18.

5 Riveting: Crew drove 731 rivets per day on structural work instead of 432 per day—an increase of 69%.

6 Cleaning boilers: Cost cut from $62.00 to $11.00 per set and work done more easily and more thoroughly.

7 Sulphate pulp mills: Output doubled, cost reduced.

8 Tobacco pouch factory: Girls averaged 550 per day instead of 275, an increase of 100%.

9 Bicycle ball factory: Wages increased 90%, hours shortened from 10½ to 8½, quality improved, cost reduced.

10 Pillow case factory: Wages increased 40%; production increased 33%; cost cut in half; imperfections per case cut from 47 to 2.

11 Cloth mill: Wages increased 40%; production increased 80%; cost reduced 60%; quality improved.

12 Foundry: Wages increased over 60% and cost cut 66% on big cylinder bushings.

13 Machine shop: Wages increased 17%; output increased 41%; cost reduced 60%.

Foundry and machine shop: Wages increased 69.2%; working day cut from ten to nine hours; and a saving of $120,000 per year effected.

The establishment of standards through staff investigation in certain shops has accomplished remarkable results, for example:

(a) Standardized belting has increased the average life

of belts sixfold, the belt failures are one-sixth and the annual cost is less than one-seventh what it was.

(b) High speed steel in machine shops accomplishes from four to five times as much as ordinary steel.

(c) Standardized abrasive wheels cut four times as fast as old fashioned ground stones.

(d) Standardized files last four times as long and cut much faster.

Scientific management investigates every phase of a business using the scientific method, which eliminates the useless, improves the necessary and makes permanent the best; its results benefit the worker, the owner and the community.

SCIENTIFIC MANAGEMENT[1]

Scientific management differs radically from the most competent and progressive management under the old system. It differs also from systematized management. The difference is one in kind; and not merely in the degree of competence, or in the existence of the progressive as opposed to conservative methods. Scientific management differs from that now generally practiced, much as production by machinery differs from production by hand; and the revolution in railroading and other industries, which must result from the introduction of scientific management, is comparable only to that involved in the transition from hand to machine production.

Engineering, whether applied to the production of transportation or of cotton cloth, or shoes, or machines, means the planning in advance of production so as to secure certain results. The distinction between the mechanic and the engineer is that the mechanic cuts and tries and works by formula based on empiricism; the engineer calculates and plans with absolute certainty of the accomplishment of the final result in accordance with his plans which are based ultimately on fundamental truths and natural science.

In scientific management, therefore, results are predetermined. Before the work is commenced, it is determined not only as to what shall be done, but how it shall be done, when it shall be done and what it shall cost.

Planning in advance is the essence of scientific management

[1] By Louis D. Brandeis. From brief filed with the Interstate Commerce Commission, January 3, 1911.

The business engineer makes his plans and specifications covering the process of production before it is entered upon,—extending his directions like the mechanical engineer into minute details in order to secure the perfect product. Those engaged in actually performing the work would rarely be competent to do such planning; but even if competent, they could not undertake that function while engaged in performance without seriously impairing the progress of the work.

Under scientific management, the management of the business assumes towards the workmen a wholly new function. Instead of the prevailing "putting it up" to the employee to do his work with such stimulus as may be given through force or inducement, the management, under the new science, assumes the responsibility of enabling the employee to work under the best possible conditions of perfect team play It undertakes to instruct him definitely what to do and the best method of doing the particular work. It undertakes to provide him with the best tools, and with machines in the best condition. It undertakes to furnish him with assistance to perform those parts of the operation requiring less skill than his own. It keeps him constantly supplied with appropriate material. Acting in full co-operation with the workmen, the management thus removes all obstacles to the workmen's full performance and supplies all aids necessary to secure full performance. The management thus assumes the burdens of management, and relieves labor of responsibilities not its own.

The results attained through scientific management depend upon universal preparedness. Under scientific management nothing is left to chance. All is carefully prepared in advance. Every operation is to be performed according to a predetermined schedule under definite instructions, and the execution under this plan is inspected and supervised at every point. Errors are prevented instead of being corrected. The terrible waste of delays and accidents is avoided. Calculation is substituted for guess; demonstration for opinion. The high efficiency of the limited passenger train is sought to be obtained in the ordinary operations of the business.

The results attained through scientific management depend further on a careful study of each operation with a view to determining in the first place what time should normally be taken in performing the operation, and secondly, whether it can be performed in a better manner than has hitherto been prac-

ticed. No assumption is made that the time hitherto employed was necessarily the proper time, nor that the way in which it has been performed is the best way. Scientific observation and scientific methods are substituted for the rule of thumb, for practices hallowed by age and tradition; and waste, whether of time or of effort or of material, is eliminated The whole realm of science is brought to the aid of the humblest workman. Instead of letting him trudge alone in darkness and afoot through a sandy road, he moves as on a bicycle by daylight over asphalt pavement.

Scientific management recognizes also that due appreciation of the actual results of effort must be based upon actual knowledge; and such knowledge is an essential condition to the best performance. The current record of the accomplishment of each individual, of each machine, and of all material is an indispensable factor in scientific management Without such a record the tyranny of the foreman, and all the discord which attends it, is inevitable. Without such a record justice to employer and employee is impossible Without such a record waste cannot be eliminated. Without such a record no firm basis exists for progress in the individual or in the establishment.

Possessing such individual records, each performance is then compared with the standard determined through analytical study.

Scientific management seeks to ascertain and apply in every process the best attainable methods, practices, tools, and machines. It necessarily follows that all must be standardized. There is but one best way; and it is essential for the standardization of tools and machines that they be all in perfect condition. Any variation from the best, be it in kind or condition, is certain to interfere with the regularity of producton, in quantity and quality and also to render untrustworthy such tests of relative efficiency as have been established.

Wherever the principles of scientific management have been applied, greatly increased efficiency of men has been attained The following are a few examples.

(a) When applied to the simple operation of loading by hand a railroad car with pig iron, the performance of the individual worker increased from 12½ to 47 tons a day.

(b) When applied to shoveling coal, it doubled or trebled the performance of the shoveller

(c) When applied to machine shop work, it developed in certain operations, increases in production, ranging from 400 to 1800 per cent.

(d) When applied to bricklaying the day's accomplishment rose from 1000 to 2700 bricks.

(e) When applied in the manufacture of cotton goods, it increased the output a hundred per cent

Under scientific management the same analytical study is made of the possible accomplishment of each part of the plant and of each individual machine, as it is of the individual worker. Analytical study is made to determine what performance is possible under the best conditions and to eliminate every obstacle to full performance so as to secure the full utilization of every part of the plant and equipment. In most cases the increased productivity of the individual workman carries with it increased production of plant and machinery. Every problem incident to plant and machinery receives close study,—for instance, the arrangement of plant and machinery so as to reduce all unnecessary movements of men and material or machinery; equalization of equipment as well as standardization of equipment. A common incident of the introduction of scientific management is the discovery that a plant supposed to have been inadequate proves to be over-equipped.

Under scientific management the same study is made and care taken to secure full utilization of materials as of men and machines. Scientific methods are pursued to determine what materials are best fitted for the particular purpose and what their proper cost should be. Only such materials are supplied. The material is guarded with the same scrupulous care as the money with which it is bought. Ledger accounts are kept for each article; whatever is needed must be vouched and accounted for and the material account be balanced as accurately as the cashier balances his daily cash account. Thus what is on hand is always known by the accounts; and waste either in purchase or in use is avoided.

Under scientific management the employee is enabled to earn without greater strain upon his vitality from 25 to 60 per cent and at times even 100 per cent more than under the old system. The larger wages are made possible by larger production; but this gain in production is not attained by "speeding up." It comes largely from removing the obstacles to production which annoy and exhaust the workman,—obstacles for

which he is not, or should not be made, responsible. The management sees to it that his machine is always in perfect order. The management sees to it that he is always supplied with the necessary materials. The management sees to it that the work comes to him at proper times, with proper instructions and in proper condition. The management sees to it that he is shown the best possible way of doing the job; that is, the way which takes least time, which takes least effort, and which produces the best result. Relieved of every unnecessary effort, of every unnecessary interruption and annoyance, the worker is enabled without greater strain to furnish much more in production. And under the exhilaration of achievement he develops his capacity.

The social gains of the workingman from scientific management are greater even than the financial. He secures the development and rise in self-respect, the satisfaction with his work, which in almost every line of human activity accompanies great accomplishment by the individual. Eagerness and interest take the place of indifference, both because the workman is called upon to do the highest work of which he is capable, and also because in doing this better work he secures appropriate and substantial recognition and reward. Under scientific management men are led, not driven. Instead of working unwillingly for their employer they work in co-operation with the management for themselves and their employer in what is a "square deal."

Scientific management recognizes the right of those less expert in the work to advance to greater efficiency, and the importance to the employer of training his workmen to be competent. It therefore provides through the most practical teachers for careful training of men to work in the best manner and to develop habits of industry instead of letting "the devil take the hindmost" and exposing the less competent to the probability of discharge. It supplies instruction, and offers to the teachers special incentives if they succeed in bringing up the hindmost.

Experience has already demonstrated that the principles of scientific management are general in their application, and can be introduced into practically all businesses, and all departments of any business. They have been successfully applied in private competitive businesses, like machine shops and factories, steel works, and paper mills, cotton mills and shoe shops, in bleacheries and dye works, in printing and book-binding,

in lithographing establishments, in the manufacture of typewriters and optical instruments, in construction and engineering work, and in establishments not commonly regarded as business, and recently to some extent they have been introduced by the United States Government into the manufacturing departments of the Army and Navy.

SCIENTIFIC MANAGEMENT[1]

Basic Principles—Social and Industrial

What are the basic principles of Scientific Management, industrially and socially? Historically, Scientific Management was not worked out as the expression of any basic, industrial principles: that is to say, it did not originate in the mind of any man as a detailed and concrete expression of some body of principles in his mind. Mr. Taylor, a foreman over a group of working people, was concerned with the practical problem of making his foremanship successful, and worked out certain detailed methods of control, and made investigations related to the problem of control for a great many years. If he started with a basic principle at all, it was this: investigate thoroughly before you conclude what to do and how to do it. He investigated thoroughly, came to conclusions how to solve certain practical problems relating to the control of the operations of a shop, and then after going over these practical conclusions discerned that there were in them certain universal principles of management. These he presented in a paper before a body of engineers. But few of his auditors grasped their significance; one or two did, and these men in discussion said they were revolutionary, not only from the point of view of management, but also socially and industrially. Since then there has been a growing appreciation that Scientific Management represents new industrial and social as well as managerial principles.

The fundamental industrial and social principles are two:

I. It is a method of management which permits a greater satisfaction of human wants from a given quantity of material, capital and labor. It is a fundamental principle which is not

[1] By H. S. Person, Managing Director, The Taylor Society. From a lecture delivered before the Filene Coöperative Association, an organization of the employees of Wm. Filene's Sons Co., Boston, Mass., in its business course. Printed here by permission.

disputed, that the total income of all of us, in the form of wages, interest, rent and profits, is limited by the productivity of the combination of labor, machinery, raw materials, and so forth, at our disposal and we cannot have a larger income than can be derived from the best known technical methods of combining these. There is no way of increasing one's share of the total income except at the sacrifice of another party, or by making total production more efficient. Now Scientific Management means greater technical efficiency, and therefore greater total income, which will result in greater profits, higher wages, or a shorter working day, or in a combination of these, and in general in the satisfaction of more wants than we are now able to satisfy under present operating methods.

II. The second fundamental principle—I think it may surprise some of you—is the principle of democratization. There are a great many who conceive of Scientific Management, through its centralized control, as working against the democratization of the whole combination of working people. It means the reverse, I believe, for the following reason: It seeks exact information, which it does not conceal. It pools the information ascertained so that everybody can have it. It is recognized that it makes much more efficient and independent the average of ability You can go into a Scientific Management plant and you will find that the Order of Work Clerk, the Production Clerk, those in immediate supervision of control of the processes, have nearly all been drawn from the ranks of working people. It discovers, records, and pools information in such a way as to make more efficient and much more productive the average ability, such as we all have; and as a result it makes it possible for industry to rely less on genius and on intuition. Another reason for its influence towards democracy is that it is conditioned upon co-operative good will.

There are two fundamental principles: (1) the industrial principle of greater satisfaction of human wants from a given amount of equipment and material; (2) the social principle of greater democratization in industry.

Plans and Policies

I interpret "Plans and Policies" to ask me what is the object of Scientific Management and what does it purpose to do in actual operation? First, I want to speak about the plans and

purposes of Scientific Management as concerning productive processes; after that I want to say a word about the plans and policies as they concern the distribution of the income which results. Keep those two points separately in mind.

1. *Aims, plans, policies and methods as they concern productive processes.* As I analyze it there are three principal aims in it:

(1) Seeking of more precise information through investigation, experiment, etc.

(2) As great an amount of prediction of what is going to happen in business operation as is possible on the basis of the unusual amount of exact information acquired.

(3) Precise control of the processes of conducting the business by various functionalized people in such wise as to bring about as precisely as possible the predictions which have been made on the basis of the exact information required.

I think that is a somewhat new analysis of the aims of Scientific Management, but I believe it is absolutely sound.

(1) Seeking of more precise information. It is in the Scientific Management plant that investigation and experiment,—the establishing of an experiment room with adequate equipment under the direction of capable investigators, have been worked out. It is in connection with this investigation and experimentation that time study has come in. I cite it as a method of acquiring precise information Time study simply means a method of acquiring exact information with respect to the time which it takes a person to do a certain thing, with certain definite equipment, under certain definite conditions. If you know that—the time it takes a person to do a definite thing, with definite equipment, under definite conditions—you have a piece of precise information which you can use in prediction if you receive an order to make something There has been a great deal of abuse of time study, because it is one of those things of which it is easy to comprehend the possibilities; because it is easy to buy a stop watch; because it is easy to put over the bluff of using it properly. The stop watch has been used injuriously by unskilled persons. The scientific use of the stop watch is to take unit times. It has been applied to a good many varieties of work. Take brick laying, because that is a classical case of the application of time study as a method of scientific investigation. Brick laying has a great many variables, such as windows, corners, the nature of the

courses, etc. Now, Scientific Management investigators have worked out the time it takes an ordinary skilled brick layer to lay a single brick under each of every conceivable condition. They did not find out how long it takes to lay fifty feet of wall with all sorts of conditions, but how long it takes to lay one brick under any condition of bricklaying. Suppose a contractor receives an inquiry to bid on laying a wall. He receives the specifications and analyzes them: so many corners; so many windows; so many feet of plain wall between; so much face brick; so much filling; etc. By multiplying the number of bricks to be laid under each varying condition by the average time of laying one brick under each condition, he can compute readily an average over-all time for laying fifty feet of wall with all the specified conditions of windows, corners, etc. I give you that as an illustration of the extent to which this precise information is sought, and also as an illustration of the exact prediction possible in the light of precise information.

(2) Precise Prediction. If one by time study and other investigation has secured and filed information telling the time of performing a unit operation with certain tools and materials under certain conditions, then if an order comes in to do or make something which represents a combination of these unit operations, by a simple mathematical calculation it is possible to determine how long it will take to fill the order, what materials and tools must be provided, what conditions established, when work on each part should begin, when and how they should be assembled, etc. In other words, an accurate layout of work on the job becomes possible. In most plants layout is by guess. Guess involves waste. An accurate layout of separate jobs means accurate layout and dovetailing of all jobs, and economical and efficient operation of materials, equipment and labor; in other words, more precise control.

(3) Precise Control. This means that to each of a number of persons shall be assigned, with authority, the responsibility of maintaining one or more of the standard conditions on the basis of which the prediction or layout of a job is made. The principal standard conditions to be maintained are

(a) Standard materials. All materials purchased should conform to carefully-worked-out, detailed specifications. It is surprising, if this is not done, how great variations there may be in materials received, without violation of the terms of the purchase and grounds for rejection. Materials purchased by

detailed specifications, however, should never vary, and should give always the same reaction to the application of the labor of foreman and workman.

(b) Standard storing and issuing of materials. Materials should be under the custody of a person who will issue them only at the time, to the workman, and in the quantity specified by the person who lays out the job. Thus is avoided that surprising, unintentional waste which results from permitting Tom, Dick and Harry to help themselves to material at their pleasure.

(c) Standard conditions under which work is performed. Someone to whom such responsibility has been assigned should relieve the workman of the necessity of maintaining the most favorable conditions of work. The most favorable conditions of work involve many elements: heat, light, availability of material, perfect conditions of machine, bench, tools, belting, etc.

(d) Standard methods of performing operations. This is the responsibility of the foreman and workman When a job is to be performed, it should be performed by the workman according to the best known method determined by experiment, and nothing should detract the workman from that responsibility. His standard materials have been brought to him; the perfection of the conditions in which he is to work has been provided for; another has seen to it that his machine and tools are in perfect condition and ready; his responsibility is to perform the operation. And he, as well as the person who has laid out his job, should know how long it will take him to perform it, for every condition of operation is predetermined.

There are other elements of precise control which I might describe to you, but I feel that I have made clear the nature of it in describing control of materials, conditions and processes. Do you not see that much waste of material, labor, machine, time, etc., is impossible with such control?

Through what machinery are the three primary aims of Scientific Management (investigation, prediction, precise control) accomplished? This machinery is described in the words *functional organization.*

You have functional organization in this merchandising house, and you know what it is. It is carried out to an unusual degree in manufacturing plants by Scientific Management. First, there is functional organization in the large; planning is separated entirely from doing. Now, in an ordinary manufac-

turing plant an order is received to make something. That is sent down to the foreman with an order to "make twenty-five of these by the 25th of June." The foreman turns to the workman and says, "Start on these day after tomorrow." There your foreman has planned who is to do it; how long it will take; how it is to be done; and so on. Under Scientific Management, on the other hand, in a room called the planning room, where is kept on file all the information which has been gathered regarding all phases of operation, the planning is done First, a list is made of the operations involved in filling this order, and of the materials and equipment required; second, an estimate is made of the time it takes to do each one of the operations with due allowance for uncertainties; third, a day is determined when work on the order is to start in order to meet the date of promised delivery. All planning of that sort is done, and proper orders are made out. On the proper date these orders are issued to the man who has charge of the material, telling him to send it to such and such a machine; and to the workman at that machine, telling him to start the work. Accompanying the order issued him is the analysis of the job and definite instructions for its performance You know the story of the German General who made warfare scientific. The story is that he was awakened from his sleep and notified that war with France had been declared He said "Pigeon-hole A" and went to sleep again When he awoke, mobilization was on. He had filed in the pigeon-hole "A," ready for the emergency, precise directions for conducting it when it should come, and precise telegrams to commanders and officers That is what planning in Scientific Management means

I have been speaking about functional organization in the large—the separation of performing, planning and investigating. There is also functional organization in detail. The best illustration is any shop where working people are In the ordinary manufacturing plant there is one foreman directing the work of the shop. He hires the workmen and discharges them; he tells them what to do; when to do it; how to set up the machine; he inspects results; and so on. Now under Scientific Management the way that would be handled is this: Suppose you have several shops in your plant, each with a foreman with all these responsibilities. One of these men is extra good at directing workmen how to do the work; another man is very good as what we call a disciplinarian,—he can talk tactfully

with the workman who is not doing his work right, and straighten out the situation without causing friction; another one is excellent in the technical side of setting up machines. Now, you say to them that instead of each man having a room, and being responsible for everything pertaining to that room, each shall be responsible in all four shops for that in which he is particularly strong. One man, perhaps, will do nothing but instruct workmen in all four rooms; another will be disciplinarian; another will do nothing but hiring, because he is strong in that; etc. This is functionalization in detail.

I have been talking concerning plans and policies as regards productive processes. A word about plans and policies as concerns sharing in the rewards.

II. *Aims, plans, policies and methods as they concern the distribution of the total income which results.* The particular productive processes which I have described to you produce more with a given combination of materials, equipment and labor than any other productive processes that have been worked out. What is the theory of Scientific Management with regard to the sharing in this extra income? Now Scientific Management is not tied up to any theory of sharing at all. That should be clearly kept in mind. You can have Scientific Management under a regime in which the proprietor takes every bit of the extra income. You can have Scientific Management under a regime in which the workmen get all of it. There is no definite relation between your theory of distributing your income and this technique of management. You can have Scientific Management under the present prevailing system of what we know as individual ownership and control; you can have it under that possible and, as some people believe, probable form of control in which through co-operation the working people own the business and hire a manager. There is no fixed relation between the philosophy of management and of distribution. Scientific Management can be applied at any stage of our industrial progress, under the particular philosophy of ownership and distribution then prevailing. Under the prevailing theory of individual ownership and management, it would be possible for the surplus of income of Scientific Management all to go to the proprietor. As a historical fact it does not. The managers have always shared this increased productivity with the working people by increasing wages, and with the consumer by lowering prices. This is how it works I am saving on costs.

I am convinced that the saving will be permanent. To get more trade I lower my selling price slightly. I lower it to the extent necessary to get the trade, and increase my business to the extent I want. Thereby I am sharing part of this increased income with the consumer in lower prices. Furthermore, this policy of precise investigation, precise prediction, and precise control of operations so as to bring about what is predicted, is based on, and conducted on, a spirit of goodwill and co-operation of all workers concerned, and therefore, historically, without reference to any theory of distributing social income, simply as a method to secure the goodwill of everybody concerned, the management has in every case increased wages voluntarily. This precise control requires that everybody shall agree to assume responsibility for doing the particular thing assigned to him or her without fail. It never will work without the spirit of co-operative assumption of responsibility, and one of the first moves of the managers who put in this type of management, whose whole bringing up would be to take all the profit they can get as long as they are paying running wages, is to increase wages very considerably in order to get those things absolutely essential to precise control—goodwill and co-operation. If Scientific Management is working successfully in any plant, it is proof that there is fine spirit there, because it would fail without that spirit. This increasing of wages and salaries by owners because they do so as a means of securing the goodwill essential to precise control, has developed with discussion and with the enlightenment and broadmindedness that has come from discussion, so that the dominant motive today as contrasted with ten years ago is to share the increased profits as a matter of social justice, a very radical modification in motive resulting from largeness of mind. That is one of the effects of this philosophy of management.

Range of Application

In the first place Scientific Management has been applied almost entirely in manufacturing establishments, for the very obvious reason that manufacturing operations are capable of much more precise control than merchandising operations, and the operations of auxiliary businesses. Second, the demand for the services of the men capable of applying Scientific Management in these manufacturing industries has been so great as

to absorb nearly all of their time. They have not had deliberately to pick out the hardest industries. A number of applications were first worked out in machine shops, and most illustrations are naturally from that industry. As a matter of fact, without any literature resulting from it, the philosophy of Scientific Management has been applied to a great variety of industries, represented by such a variety as iron and steel, books and binding, textiles, clothing, building construction, and even banking.

It is very interesting to know that the exponents of Scientific Management are now educating the public with respect to something they have known but which the public has not—that Scientific Management is not a rigid thing. It is not the same here and there, but must be different in every kind of plant, because of different local conditions; and in different types of industry different features of the mechanics and principles must be emphasized. They have worked out three principal types of industries:

1 Industries with continuous processes; uniform product with uniform specifications; single purpose machines; uniform operations; simple routing. Illustrated by the manufacture of paper and pulp.
2 Industries with non-continuous processes; uniform product with varying specifications; single purpose machines; uniform operations; simple routing. Illustrated by the manufacture of envelopes, books, and handkerchiefs.
3 Industries with non-continuous processes; varying products with varying specifications; multiple purpose machines; varying operations; complex routing. Illustrated by machine shops.

Effect on Production and Distribution.

Where real Scientific Management has been applied there is observable the following effect on productive and distributive processes,—all resulting from precise control made possible by intensive continuous investigation:

1 Greater efficiency of the individual workman, without greater expenditure of physical and nervous energy.
2 Greater efficiency of equipment.
3 Greater efficiency of material.

4 Resultant lower costs, greater profits, higher wages, and in many instances lower selling prices.
5 Greater precision in deliveries.

Effect on the Industrial Workman

I do not know of any phase of the subject about which there are more incorrect statements, based either on prejudice or ignorance, than the influence on the workman. There is only one safe way to know what the facts are: that is to go and visit real Scientific Management plants. You cannot rely on printed literature. These misleading statements are in many instances deliberate falsehoods, but on the whole, I believe, rather a misrepresentation of facts because of the bias of some industrial philosophy. I am going to present the following generalizations based on personal observation and inquiry, concerning the effects of Scientific Management on the individual workman.

First: The health of working people is not impaired, but on the other hand is usually improved by the better general working conditions established.

Second: There is always increased wage. In some cases it is very considerable—twenty-five or thirty per cent. Where it is not as considerable as that it takes the other form of shorter hours. In many cases it is a combination of increased wage and shorter hours.

Third: The attitude of mind and spirit of the working people in the plants I have inspected is conspicuously better than the attitude of mind and spirit I have seen under other types of management. Scientific Management to survive, depends upon that thing. The idea of precise control is impossible without it.

Fourth: Contrary to your first impressions, based upon misinformation and upon a misconception of the nature of standardization, Scientific Management offers a greater opportunity for the promotion of working people freely from one position to another.

Fifth: According to my observations, as a result of the spirit in the plant, and increased wage, and sometimes shorter hours, the standard of living of the working people is more satisfactory than that which accompanies ordinary conditions of management. This results not merely from the ability to

enjoy more things; it arises also from a different attitude toward things and toward each other.

Finally: I think I see in it the opportunity for regularizing employment. One of the serious social problems confronting us is irregularity in employment. I do not see any possibility of regularization without precise knowledge of facts, ability to predict, and precise control; and one plant—a Scientific Management plant—has had the nerve to tackle the problem of regularizing employment by deliberately not making all it can in full season and holding production over to the dull season. It feels confident of what it is doing, because of precise knowledge and precise control of its operations.

These effects of Scientific Management on the individual workman, reflected in the home and multiplied by the number of homes, represents its effect on the community. Higher wages make possible the enjoyment by the community of a greater number of things of life, and shorter hours of work afford the time for this enjoyment. The spirit of "the best way" and of "the reason why," developed in the shop, is carried into home and community life, as is also that broadmindedness and tolerance which develops with co-operative activity.

Modifications of Scientific Management

Just as there were fake physicians and shyster lawyers when medicine and law were young professions, so we have at present fake organizing engineers. They do as much damage to the plants by which they are engaged as the fake physician did to the health of his patient. I wish it were possible by some sort of prescription to abolish these fake and damaging self-styled organizing engineers. I do not see how that can be done. We must rely upon the education of the employer, his refusal to employ them, and their ultimate extinction by starvation. The point I have just made does not concern the topic "Modification of Scientific Management," but it does concern the modification of the circumstances in which real Scientific Management finds itself.

I would not suggest any modification of Scientific Management, for Scientific Management is an attitude of mind rather than a physical thing. It is a body of principles rather than a mechanism. Who would suggest a modification of the three fundamental principles I have attempted to bring out? (1)

Continuous and intensive investigation of facts. (2) Prediction, so far as it is possible, on the basis of the facts ascertained. (3) Precise control of materials and processes so as to make actual operation conform to the facts ascertained by investigation. I cannot think of three more satisfactory universal principles.

Their honest application involves the idea that there shall be a strict regard for the exact facts surrounding the conditions of any particular application of the principles of Scientific Management. The consequence of that is that the mechanism and external manifestations of Scientific Management must in any particular plant be more or less different from those in any other particular plant. In that unreal sense of the word "modification," we may say then that there must be a modification of the mechanism of Scientific Management with every application of its principles; but its principles remain the same, for it is a corollary of the principles enumerated above that accurate investigation of every separate plant will find a separate combination of facts that will require separate application of the principles.

RELATION OF SCIENTIFIC MANAGEMENT TO LABOR[1]

Until recently the problem of the relation of scientific management to organized labor had, as one of its practitioners said, "merely an academic interest." There was no attempt to develop the system in closed shops. In other shops no one inquired or knew whether there were union men or not; nor, if there were such, did they offer any objection to the development of scientific management. About 1910 however, or even earlier, in some of the railroad brotherhoods, the attention of professional labor leaders was directed toward the possibilities of this type of management. Their reaction was unfavorable; but except for the refusal of locomotive engineers to accept the bonus proposals on the Santa Fe railroad, no opportunity to express their organized opposition to scientific management presented itself until that system was extended to a detail of the Watertown Arsenal, which is part of a highly unionized branch of the government service. This was seized upon by

[1] By C. Bertrand Thompson. From an article in Quarterly Journal of Economics. 30:330-40. February, 1916.

the leaders, apparently without regard to the real feelings of the men or the facts in the case, as the occasion for a brief and insignificant strike and a long train of government investigations, reports, petitions, and bills in congress, whose aim is to discredit positive management generally by setting on it the stamp of governmental disapproval. In the last congress this agitation was partially successful, altho the labor leaders seem to have gotten through the wrong bill. The affair has at least been of sufficient importance to convert the question from one of academic interest to one of general industrial and economic consequence.

The traditional attitude of the practitioners of positive management is based on strong practical considerations of which they are fully cognizant, and on an economic theory which is rather implicit in their discussions. In general they admit certain historic advantages in trade unionism, such as the gradual shortening of hours, the improvement of working conditions, and the maintenance and raising of wages. They admit that labor organization is still necessary to secure and maintain these advantages in plants not using positive management. But they insist that positive management provides these advantages to the working man more quickly, more certainly, and in fuller measure, than labor organization ever has done or can do. Reduction of hours is a not uncommon practice under positive management. The standardization of conditions to the point of economic perfection is a fundamental principle. Wherever positive management prevails, basic wages are maintained as a matter of expediency, and are raised by the extent of the bonus. These results are brought about quickly, and without dispute or trouble. Why then, they ask, is labor organization necessary?

The advocates of positive management do not stop, however, with this negative position. They maintain that certain of the present principles and practices of labor unionism are not only incompatible with the fundamental principles and practices of scientific management, but are subversive of the public interest. This criticism applies to such practices as restriction of output, insistence on a uniform wage, collective bargaining on matters which are questions of fact rather than of opinion, restriction of membership, and the closed shop.

Socially controlled restriction of output may under some circumstances be advisable, as when there is regulation of the acreage to be sown in wheat or cotton or of the amount of coal

to be mined year by year. The movement for the conservation of natural resources is a form of restriction enforced in the broad public interest. This is an essentially different matter from privately controlled restriction, whether by the entrepreneur or the workman. Such restriction may be of temporary advantage, maintaining profits for awhile for the entrepreneur and possibly maintaining wages and postponing unemployment for awhile for the workman. Both these results, however, are temporary and of individual benefit Scientific management aims fundamentally at the increase of the national dividend, which any form of privately controlled restriction aims to reduce. Scientific management, while recognizing that over-production may occur as an accidental result of uncoordinated industrial activity or of the friction and groping of distribution, denies the possibility of real over-production in the sense of an excess of consumable goods over the needs of society. Positive management opposes the lump of labor theory, and insists that the more economically work can be done the greater will be the demand for it and the more highly rewarded the workers. And there is no question that increased production at lower cost per unit is desirable, at each successive stage, from the point of view of the entrepreneur producer

Altho labor unions are becoming less and less willing to acknowledge restriction of output as a fundamental policy, there can be no doubt that such restriction is their constant practice and that in the back of their heads it is their final answer to the problem of unemployment. For the individual workman in the individual plant much is to be said for their theory. If the plant has orders for a hundred units, the men's jobs will last ten times as long if they take ten days instead of one day each per unit. The broader social consequences of this type of restriction work out slowly and react only in the most obscure ways on those who practise it, while its immediate personal consequences are obvious and apparently advantageous. Even if the workman sees the ultimate social disadvantage of this policy, he can hardly be expected to sacrifice his present personal advantage to a remote social good.

Inasmuch however as one of the fundamental aims of positive management, and a necessary result of all its practices and methods, is the increase of output, there is here, in the absence of centralized social control of production, an irreconcilable conflict. It would appear that the ultimate social as

well as the immediate industrial advantage is on the side of positive management and that, as it cannot surrender its fundamental principles, it must continue to educate society to the advantages of large output and to fight all efforts to restrict it.

There is an equally fundamental conflict between the trade union principle of a uniform wage based on class similarity and the positive management principle of a differential wage for differential abilities

Positive management accepts the wage current in the community as its basic wage, and so long as general conditions remain substantially the same, considers that this wage should be paid uniformly to all workmen for an ordinary day's work Some of its practitioners may question theoretically the justice of these current rates. While their theories have apparently not been thoroly reasoned out nor stated with any great clearness, there appears to be among them a feeling that basic wages should be related to each other in proportion to the disagreeableness, sacrifice, or "cost" of different occupations, scientifically determined One proposes that this determination shall be on the basis of foot pounds of energy expended, another on an estimate of the relative total disagreeableness or irksomeness of jobs. These theories are not pressed very insistently, however, nor is there much tendency to question the justice of the current rates. On the the whole they are felt to depend upon some rather hazy "law of supply and demand"; and in any case the validity of this law, if there is any, is outside the practical scope of a scientific manager's business. He accepts current wages as they are, as the basis on which to build a differential payment for differences in ability.

For on the theory express or implied that wages should be proportionate to productive efficiency, it is agreed among all scientific management experts that it is both just and necessary to pay more than an ordinary day's wage for an extraordinary day's accomplishment such as is made feasible by their methods. It is necessary, as already explained, because otherwise the workmen will not perform the unusual day's work. It is just, because it tends to encourage the exercise of superior abilities to the ultimate benefit of society; whereas a uniform wage tends to reduce the effort of all men, whatever their capacity may be, to the level of the least efficient man who receives the uniform wage. There is also a feeling, scarcely reasoned out or defined, that the workman should in some way share in the

increased product secured at least in part through his efforts. In any case there is a thoro conviction that differential wages are essential to the practice of positive management and that therefore the trade union principle and practice of uniformity is absolutely unacceptable.

The objection of positive management to collective bargaining rests theoretically on the incompatibility between bargaining and the accurate scientific determination of facts, and practically on the numerous difficulties thrown in the way of the reorganization of a plant by recognition of labor unions as at present led and conducted. Positive management endeavors to build up the principles of industrial organization as well as the science of industrial conservation upon a basis of ascertained fact, where possible; and it declines to admit that any facts pertinent to the discussion are not ascertainable. Bargaining implies difference of opinion and compromise until a basis of agreement is reached. You do not bargain about or vote on scientific facts. If the ideals of positive management are realized, therefore, the field left open for collective bargaining is narrowed to those matters which cannot be, or at least have not been, reduced to law.

In the opinion of some this eliminates altogether the possibility of collective bargaining; for they believe there is no factor, not even the basic wage rate, which cannot be reduced to accurate scientific determination, even if such determination is only the resultant of an unanalyzed "law of supply and demand." Others (of whom I am one) believe that while the basic wage rate is doubtless determined by some law, natural or social, the law has not yet been accurately and comprehensively defined; and that therefore, theoretically at least, the basic rate of wages may be a subject of bargaining. But there is complete agreement that such matters as the process to be used, or the time which it should take to perform a given piece of work, and the amount of bonus which is to be paid for its performance within a standard time, are questions of fact, and therefore not in any sense subject to collective bargaining.

More important, however, than the theoretical consideration is the circumstance that collective bargaining under existing conditions requires a recognition of the union and thereby brings in its train a series of difficulties and conflicts which might be avoided altogether by consistent refusal to deal with organized labor. The bargain on basic wage rates, even tho

theoretically consistent with positive management, does in fact involve many details of organization such as the length of the working day, the employment of men or women or children, and the determination of what constitutes the (customarily ordinary) day's work. Further, such a bargain opens the way to "dickering" over many other details such as the degree of specialization to be required, the functions and authority of minor executives, the principles governing inspection and the reduction of defective workmanship All scientific managers will testify that at best the difficulties of their work are extreme, not to say heartbreaking. To complicate them with the necessity of conferring with committees of workmen not in the slightest degree familiar with the principles of management or the details as they are being worked out in the plant under process of systematizing, would be wellnigh fatal.

LABOR'S ATTITUDE TOWARDS SCIENTIFIC MANAGEMENT[1]

Industrial Democracy

The controversy which centers about time study, task setting and the methods of payment employed by "Scientific Management" is perhaps of secondary importance to the attitude of "Scientific Management" towards industrial democracy and its relation to the workers.

Mr. Taylor has claimed that:

"'Scientific Management' is the essence of industrial democracy. It substitutes the rule of law for arbitrary decisions of foremen, employers and the unions and treats each worker as an independent personality; it transfers to the workers the traditional craft knowledge which is being lost and destroyed under current industrial methods; lessens the rigors of shop discipline; promotes a friendly feeling and relation between the management and the men, and among the workers of a shop or group; it gives a voice to both parties—to the workers in the end equal voice with the employer—and substitutes joint obedience to fact and laws for obedience to personal authority. No such democracy has ever existed in industries before.

[1] By John P. Frey. From an article in Shoe Workers' Journal. 17:8-10. March, 1916.

Every protest of every workman must be handled by those on the management side and the right or wrong of the complaint must be settled, not by the opinion of either of the management or the workman, but by the great code of laws which have been developed and which must satisfy both sides; both can refer only to the arbitrament of science and fact. 'Scientific Management' thus makes collective bargainings and trades unionism unnecessary as a means of protection to the workers, but it welcomes the co-operation of unionism."

Organized labor has declared that "Scientific Management" is essentially autocratic, a reversion to industrial autocracy which forces the workers to depend upon the employer's conception of fairness and justice and limits the democratic safeguards of the workers, that it tends to gather up and to transfer to the management all the traditional knowledge, the judgment and the skill of the workers, and monopolizes their initiative and skill in connection with work; that it ordinarily allows the workmen no voice in hiring or discharging, the setting of the task, the determination of the wages, or the general conditions of employment; that it greatly intensifies unnecessary managerial dictation and discipline; tends to prevent the presentation and denies the adequate consideration of grievances and tends to increase the number of shop offenses and the amount of docking and fining; it introduces the spirit of mutual suspicion and contest among the men and thus destroys the solidarity and co-operative spirit of the group, it has refused to deal with the workers except as individuals; it is incompatible with and destructive to unionism; it destroys all the protective rules established by unionism; and, finally, it is incompatible with and destructive to collective bargaining.

Industrial democracy, as we understand it, is that condition in the industries which acknowledges and accepts the right of labor to a collective voice in determining what the terms of employment shall be, and the conditions under which labor is to be performed. It gives practical application to the principle that government in the shop, like government in the nation, should be by the consent of the governed.

It has not been my purpose to discuss the theory of "Scientific Management" as expounded by its leaders, but rather to call attention to the conditions affecting labor which were found to exist in plants where "Scientific Management" had been in-

stalled. It is essential, however, that attention should be called to industrial democracy as it is apparently understood and defined by those who apply the principles of "Scientific Management," for, unless this is done, it would be impossible to understand the attitude which "Scientific Management" has assumed towards labor.

Mr. Taylor has held that the relations between employers and workers are governed by a fundamental harmony of interests. Assuming this to be true and that perfect equality of interests exists between them, complete democracy in all of their relations is to be secured by setting aside the employers' personal authority, and the arbitrary rules and regulations of the workers, with all of the machinery for negotiations and the enforcements of decisions created by both, and substituting at all times the impersonal dictates of natural law and fact. It is the democracy of science as applied to industry. All that is necessary to realize this is to have in the hop a corps of scientists to determine and declare to employers and workers the objective scientific facts.

"If," as the Hoxie report says, "Mr. Taylor's original assumption is correct, and if all industrial matters touching the relations of employers and workmen have been or can be reduced to a purely scientific basis his conception of industrial democracy is valid, and if it is adhered to by scientific managers generally, the worker has no need of unions, union machinery or collective bargaining to voice his complaints and enforce his demands in order to secure just consideration of his interests and equal voice with the employers in the determination of all matters of mutual concern."

However, as a matter of fact, neither is the Taylor assumption correct, nor is it adhered to by scientific managers generally.

Theoretically, Mr. Taylor and other leaders of "Scientific Management" hold that the elements of the conditions of labor and the terms of employment can be demonstrated as objective scientific facts and are, therefore, no more subject to bargaining or arbitration than the question of the earth's revolution on its axis or the principles of arithmetic. Perhaps no feature of "Scientific Management" indicates a wider divergence between a theory and its application than the one under consideration.

Mr. Taylor's ideal shops with their corps of scientists, and

scientifically trained time-study men and instructors were not encountered during the investigation. It is true that systems of "Scientific Management" had been installed by efficiency engineers possessed of marked ability and wide experience, men of high ideals and not wanting in the milk of human kindness, but these men did not remain in charge of the plant to direct the machinery which they had installed, and this work was taken up by other and inferior men. It is the work of the time study men which chiefly determines whether efficiency shall be combined with just and humane treatment of the workers, regardful of their present and future welfare.

"This being true," says the Hoxie report,[1] "the time-study man is, from the standpoint of labor, the central figure in 'Scientific Management,'—its vital organ and force. To perform his functions properly, to make 'Scientific Management' tolerable to labor, he must be a man exceptional in technical and industrial training, a man with a broad and sympathetic understanding of the workers as well as of the economic and social forces which condition their welfare, a man of unimpeachable judgment, governed by scientific rather than pecuniary considerations, and, withal, he must occupy a high and authoritative position in the management For if he is to set tasks that will not cause nervous and physical exhaustion, he must not only have an intimate personal knowledge of the work to be done, the special difficulties it involves, the qualities required to do it well, the demand which it makes on the strength, skill, ingenuity and nervous force, but he must be able to recognize and measure nervous disturbance and fatigue and understand and deal wisely with temperament. If he is to set tasks that will always be fair and liberal, he must understand and know how to discount all the effects of current variations in machinery, tools and materials, in human energy and attention. If he is to safeguard the lives and health of the workers and their general economic and social welfare, he must be an expert in matters of sanitation and safety, and have a broad and deep understanding of economic and social problems and forces and, finally, if he is to make all this knowledge count, he must be able to establish the standards warranted by his study and judicial weighing of men and facts, and to protect these standards against infringement and displacement. All this and more, if the claims of

[1] See Scientific Management and Labor by R. F. Hoxie. Appleton, 1915.

'Scientific Management' relative to labor are to be generally fulfilled.

But as things actually are, this emphatically is not the type of man who is habitually engaged in time-study work, and who is being drawn into it, nor does the time-study man of the present occupy this exalted position in the hierarchy of 'Scientific Management.' The best men in this work are perhaps technically qualified, but so far as the observation of your investigator has gone, the best of them are technicians with little knowledge of the subject of fatigue, little understanding of psychology and temperament, little understanding of the viewpoint and problems of the workers, and almost altogether lacking in knowledge of and interest in the broader economic and social aspects of working-class welfare. The bulk of the time-study men encountered were immature men drawn from the shop or from college. They were expected to get their knowledge and training in all the matters enumerated above through the actual work of time-study and task-setting. In the majority of cases encountered it was not considered essential that they should have had any special training in the particular industry. A man who had worked exclusively in the machine shop was considered competent, after a few weeks or months of contact and trial experience, to set tasks in a cotton mill.

Sometimes previous industrial experience of any kind was not considered necessary. Analytical ability, good powers of observation, a sense of justice and tact were the chief qualities emphasized as essential for a time-study man. Rarely, if ever, was anything said of technical knowledge concerning fatigue, psychology, sanitation, safety, and in broader problems of industrial and social welfare. Indeed, time-study and task-setting were almost universally looked upon as primarily mechanical tasks in which the ability to analyze jobs and manipulate figures rather than broad knowledge and sound judgment were regarded as the essential factors. Naturally, therefore, the time-study men were found to be prevailingly of the narrow-minded, mechanical type, poorly paid and occupying the lowest positions in the managerial organization, if they could be said to belong at all to the managerial group. Nor does the situation seem to promise much improvement. For the position and pay accorded to time-study, men generally, are such as to preclude the drawing into this work of

really competent men in the broader sense. Aside from a few notable exceptions in the shops, and some men who make a general profession of time-study in connection with the installment of 'Scientific Management' this theoretically important functionary receives little more than good mechanic's wages, and has little voice in determining shop policies. The start is often made at $15.00 per week. A good time-study man, according to current standards, can be had at from $75 to $100 a month, and $125 per month is rather high rating for experienced men, if the statements of scientific managers are to be trusted In fact, the time-study man, who, if 'Scientific Management' is to make good the most important of its labor claims, should be among the most highly trained and influential officials in the shop, a scientist in viewpoint, a wise arbiter between employer and workmen, is, in general, a petty functionary, a specialist workman, a sort of clerk, who has no voice in the counsels of the higher officials. There are, of course, exceptions to this general rule, but taking the situation as a whole, the quality of the time-study men actually setting the tasks in 'Scientific Management' shops and the position which they occupy are such as to preclude any present possibility of the fulfillment of its labor claims."

GUILD SOCIALISM

REVIVING THE GUILD IDEA[1]

Most people are aware that long ago, in the Middle Ages, industry was organized under a system which is now called the Gild (or Guild) system. They know that for several centuries this was the prevailing method of industrial organization, and that it gradually decayed before the coming of modern industry, overwhelmed by the expansion of the market, by the substitution of new for old forms of production, by the growing importance of finance, and by the growth of national, as opposed to local, economic, and social consciousness. The old Guild system was essentially a local system, and for most people that is a sufficient reason for dismissing it as irrelevant to present-day industrial problems.

The old localized market, the 'town-economy' of which the industrial historians tell us, is indeed gone forever, though it may be hoped that we shall some day recover the finer qualities which belong to craftsmanship and small-scale production. But, even if we accept, for our time at least, the existence of national and international economy, with their concomitants the world market, and large scale production, there may still be much which we can learn from the guilds of the Middle Ages. For in the great days of the guilds, the ordinary man did achieve a position which he has never occupied in modern industry—a self-government and a control of his own working life which are of the essence of human freedom.

Modern industry is built up on a denial—a denial to the mass of the workers of the attributes of humanity. In the factory of to-day, the workman counts not as a man, but as an employee, not as a human being, but as the material embodiment of so much labor power. He sells his labor in a 'labor market,' and in that market an employer or the management of a company buys just that quantity of labor power which can be used for the realization of a profit The employer or the

[1] By G. D. H. Cole. Living Age 302:214-17. July 26, 1919. Mr. Cole is the leading exponent of Guild Socialism.

firm buys labor-power just as it buys electrical power or machinery, and just as an ordinary purchaser buys a pound of tea or a cake of soap. In short, under modern industrial conditions labor is treated as a 'commodity' and is bought for the purpose of realizing a profit.

Vast consequences flow from this way of treating the worker. Seeing that, in the factory, the worker is present not as a human being, but merely as so much embodied labor power, the worker is not regarded as having any right to share in the control of the factory in which he works. He is there to behave not as a man, but as labor power, to be moved about and used and to have his motion directed at will by those who have purchased his labor. According to the theory of modern industry not only does the factory belong to the employer to do with it what he will: the workman also belongs to the employer during the hours for which his labor has been bought.

Of course, things do not work out quite like this in practice. In the bad days of the Industrial Revolution in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, when the workers were for the most part half-starved, helpless, and unorganized, the theory and the practice did almost completely coincide, as they still coincide in the case of the sweated workers in this country or the downtrodden employees in the mills of India or Japan. But even in these cases, the harmony of theory and practice has been on occasion rudely broken: the workers have rebelled against the conditions of their wage-slavery, and there have been strikes and riots, usually without conscious purpose or final success. In the civilized countries, the workers have gradually organized in Trade Unions, and as they have grown stronger the gulf between theory and practice has widened. The recalcitrance of labor has become more marked and more frequent, and employers have been compelled to bargain collectively with their workers, and to admit their possession not merely of certain human rights, but even of a certain title to a small share in industrial control usually in the form of certain restrictions imposed by the Trade Unions on the way in which the factories are run. This has meant a growing difficulty in administering industry under the existing system, until unrest has risen to such proportions as to threaten the stability of the system itself. We are not far off the position when the workers will refuse any longer to be treated as labor power, and

when the refusal will compel a complete reconsideration of the principles and the practice of the industrial system.

The growing divergence of theory and practice can have only one end. It is impossible, in view of the present strength and consciousness of labor, that our industrial practice should ever again be harmonized with the old theory. It remains, therefore, that we should remodel our theory, and make our practice consistent with that new theory.

What is this new theory? It is here that the mediæval guild can teach us useful lessons. For the only way out of our present *impasse* is to get back to a position in which every workman can feel that he has a real share in controlling the conditions of his life and work. We must reconstruct our industry on a democratic basis, and that basis can be only the control of industry by the whole body of persons who are engaged in it, whether they work by hand or by brain. In short, the solution lies in industrial democracy.

This democracy must be in many ways very different from the democracy which existed in the mediæval guilds, until the rise of inequalities in wealth made them plunge into oligarchy and finally chaos and dissolution. The mediæval guilds were local, confined to a particular town and its environs: our modern guilds must be national and even, in many respects, international and world-wide. While preserving the local freedom and local initiative, we must co-ordinate them on the same scale as the market must be co-ordinated. The epoch of world-commerce calls for national and international guilds.

There will be a second difference hardly less important. The mediæval guilds were made up of master-craftsmen, with their journeymen and apprentices who could hope one day to be masters, working in independence in separate workshops under conditions laid down by the guild. The modern guild will be made up, in our time at least, of huge factories in which democratic control will have to be established and safeguarded by far more formal methods than were necessary in the small workshop of the Middle Ages. Moreover, our modern industries are so inter-connected and so bound up one with another, and economics and political considerations are so intertwined, that modern guilds will have to be far more closely related to the State than were the mediæval guilds, which, it is true, were often most intimately related to the mediæval municipality.

But, with all these points of difference, the resemblance will be far more essential. Modern, like mediæval guilds, will be dominated by the idea of social service—an idea which has almost vanished from the organization of industry in modern times. They will bring back the direct control of the producer over his work, and will give him the sense, which hardly anyone can have in industry nowadays, of working for the community. That, Guildsmen believe, is the secret of getting good work well and truly done.

If we set this ideal of National Guilds before us, how can we set about its realization? It is made necessary and possible by the emergence and power of Trade Unionism, and Trade Unionism is the principal instrument by means of which it must be brought about. The growing strength of Trade Unionism is beginning to make impossible the continuance of industry under the old conditions; there is no remedy but in making Trade Unionism itself the nucleus of a new industrial order. Our problem, then, is that of turning Trade Unions into National Guilds.

Trade Unions to-day consist principally, though not exclusively, of manual workers But, clearly, a National Guild must include all workers, whether they work with their hands or with their heads, who are essential to the efficient conduct of industry. Trade Unionism must, therefore, be widened so as to include the salariat. This is already coming about. On the railways, in the shipyards and engineering shops, and in other industries the salariat is already organizing, and is showing an increasing tendency to link up with the manual workers As the power of Trade Unionism grows still greater, this tendency will become more and more manifest. One part of the building of National Guilds is the absorption of the salariat into the Trade Union movement. Another part, on which I have no space to dwell, is the reorganization of Trade Unionism on industrial lines.

As these processes go on, the Unions will continue their steady encroachment in the sphere of industrial control The divergence between the theory and practice of capitalist industry will become wider and wider, and it may be that we shall find ourselves at last with a practice fitting the new theory achieved without any abrupt or violent transition at all.

What form will the gradual encroachment take? First, I think, the form which it is now manifestly taking in some of

the principal industries. The workers will create strong organizations of their own in the workshops and factories (shop stewards' committees, works committees and so on) and will then demand for these organizations positive functions and powers in the control of industry. At the same time, especially in services which are state-owned and administered, the Trade Unions will demand a share in control, nationally as well as locally. In every direction, the workers through their organizations will gradually demand and secure as much control as they are at present able to exercise And not merely will the appetite for control grow as it feeds; the competence and the power to control will grow with it, till by a series of stages the functions of industrial management are gradually transfered to the workers' organizations, which will by that time have come to include the whole effective personnel of industry.

This is one side, and the most important side, of the development. But at the same time, the democratization of industry will be accompanied by a similar gradual democratization of politics and of the State. The State will be driven more and more to assume the ownership and control of industry, and every step which it takes in this direction will make more important the existence of real and effective democratic control over the State. The National Guildsman believes that industry ought to be controlled by the workers engaged in it. but he believes also that the State ought to own industry, and that popular control must be established over the machinery of State. I have not left myself space to deal with this side of the problem fully · I can only say that Guildsmen believe that it is impossible to have a really democratic political system while the economic system remains undemocratic, and continues to be based on the denial of the Humanity of Labor. And, on the other hand, the democratization of the industrial system will make possible a parallel democratization of the political machine. The way to political and individual as well as to industrial freedom lies in the control of industry, and it is for this reason that the industrial problem occupies its paramount position among social questions. The Guild system, I believe, furnishes the best possible solution of the social problem, because it carries with it the best reconciliation for our time of the principles of freedom and order—principles apparently in conflict, which must be reconciled in any system which is to

satisfy our moral striving after personal freedom and co-operation one with another.

NATIONAL GUILDS MOVEMENT IN GREAT BRITAIN[1]

The objects of the national guilds movement in Great Britain, as defined in the constitution of the National Guilds League, are "the abolition of the wage system, and the establishment by the workers of self-government in industry through a democratic system of national guilds working in conjunction with a democratic State." The leading ideas of the movement are therefore those of democratic organization and self-government in the industrial sphere. National guildsmen look forward to the time when the various industries and services will be administered each by its guild, or association organized for common service, and including the whole necessary personnel of the industry concerned.

This movement is only a few years old; but it has made considerable headway among the manual workers, and to at least an equal extent among many classes of professional and technical workers. By Marxian Industrial Unionists and others of the extreme left wing of labor, it is indeed sometimes denounced as a bourgeois movement of counter-revolutionary tendency. This criticism comes principally from those who refuse to recognize the importance of technical and professional elements in the industrial system, or hold that the existing technicians and professionals are "adherents of capitalism," and that it is necessary to make a clean sweep of them in preparation for a new order ushered in by a proletarian dictatorship.

National guildsmen differ widely in their outlook on the social and economic question as a whole. Faith in national guilds as a form of economic organization is compatible with many degrees of reformist or revolutionary opinion. There are all sorts among guildsmen, from the extreme right, which looks to a gradual development of guilds by the consent of the more progressive employers, to the extreme left, which corresponds closely in method and outlook to the Marxian Industrial Unionists. Neither of these attitudes, however, represents the main,

[1] By G. D. H. Cole. Monthly Labor Review. U. S. Bureau Labor Statistics. 9:24-32. July, 1919.

or even a considerable, body of guild opinion, which must be sought in views falling between the two extremes.

Origin and Development of National Guilds Movement

It will be easier to explain the present orientation of the national guilds movement if we begin with a short account of its origin and development. It has only gradually attained to its present scope and character, and a number of different and even diverse influences have contributed to its formation. Its earliest manifestation is attributable to Mr. Arthur J. Penty, whose book on The Restoration of the Guild System was published in England in 1906. About the same time, Mr A. R. Orage, then as now editor of the New Age, contributed to the Fortnightly Review an article on the same subject. Mr. Orage was, and has remained, in close touch with Mr. Penty; but in his hands the guild doctrine soon began to follow a new line of development. In 1908, Mr. S. G. Hobson, a former member of the Fabian Society, who had left that body after an unsuccessful attempt to launch a scheme for independent Socialist political representation, became associated with Mr. Orage on the New Age. Shortly after this, a series of articles written by Mr. Hobson with the collaboration of Mr. Orage, most of which were subsequently reprinted in the book National Guilds: an Enquiry into the Wage-System and the Way Out, began to appear. This series of articles really gave the national guilds movement its definite shape, and made it for the first time a practical and constructive force.

The essential feature introduced by Messrs. Hobson and Orage—the feature which gave the national guilds movement its characteristic turn—was the definite association of the idea of industrial self-government with the existing structure of the British trade-union movement, and the definite attempt to formulate a proposal for the conversion of trade-unions into guilds, that is, of protective organizations of wage or salary earners into managing and controlling organizations, including the whole necessary personnel of industry. This does not mean that the full implications of this association of ideas were at this stage completely thought out, or that the practical steps for the accomplishment of the change were clearly proposed. It means only that the vital idea of national guilds appeared for

the first time, and that the way was thus made clear for further developments.

Indeed, at this stage the appeal of the national guilds idea was almost purely intellectual. No propaganda was proceeding outside the columns of the New Age, and the circulation of that journal was almost wholly confined to a section of the "intelligentsia." The great bulk of the Socialist and trade-union movements remained unaffected; only in the university Socialist societies and among middle-class Socialists and professionals did the idea make any progress. It had its partisans among the younger members of the Fabian Society, but the great bulk of that society, and practically all the official leaders of the labor and Socialist movement, were at this time definitely hostile

In the industrial labor movement as a whole, this period was one of great and growing unrest From 1910 onward to the outbreak of the war unrest grew steadily and many great strikes took place, including the great railway and transport strike of 1911 and the mining strike of 1912. This spirit of unrest led to a ferment of ideas in the labor world Before 1910 the Socialist Labor Party and the Industrial Workers of Great Britain (offshoots of the American S. L P and De Leonite I. W. W.) had been active in Scotland and some districts of the North of England; but the atmosphere was unfavorable, and they made little progress From 1911 onward the conditions were far more favorable; but the leadership of the left wing passed rather to movements under the influence of French Syndicalist ideas. The Industrial Syndicalist Education League, led by Mr Tom Mann, had a considerable transient success, and closely related to it were the various amalgamation committees and other "rebel" bodies which are the ancestors of the "rank and file" movements of to-day. In South Wales, the Marxians through the Industrial Democracy League and the Miners' Unofficial Reform Committee gained ground considerably, while the foundation of the Central Labor College and the Plebs League gave the Marxians a means of propaganda on a national scale. Only at a later period, from 1916 onward, did the big growth of the Marxian Socialist Labor Party begin.

At the beginning of 1914 Mr. W. Mellor, since general secretary of the National Guilds League, and the writer began to develop guild ideas by regular articles in the Daily Herald, the object of these articles being to popularize guild propaganda

and to bring it into the closest possible relation to the every-day work of the trade-union movement Toward the end of 1914, despite the outbreak of war, it was felt that the time was ripe for a further development, and a small private conference was held in December at Storrington in Sussex, at which a long statement was drawn up formulating unanimous conclusions on the theory of national guilds and the steps necessary for their attainment. This conference was followed a month or two later by a second conference at Oxford, where it was definitely decided to proceed to the formation of a propagandist organization for spreading the guild idea. A third and considerably larger conference was held in London at Easter, 1915, and at this conference the National Guilds League was definitely founded.

Work of the National Guilds League

Since that time the spread of the guild idea has been rapid in the trade-union world, among Socialists, and also among the professional classes. The National Guilds League has directed its principal propaganda toward the trade-union world; but everywhere its groups include not only trade-unionists but also professional men, teachers, journalists, and even employers. It has never been, and has never sought to be, a large organization. It has concentrated its propaganda work entirely upon the question of industrial and professional self-government, and its aim has been to enroll persons willing to work for the guild idea with a full understanding of its principles. Its influence has therefore been out of all proportion to its numerical strength; the influence of the National Guilds League has spread far and wide, while its actual membership still remains at a few hundreds. It has the advantage of possessing among its members a considerable proportion of fairly well-known writers, and in consequence it is enabled to spread its influence over a wide field

A few instances will serve to explain the extent and character of this influence. The new secretary of the Miners' Federation of Great Britain, Mr Frank H. Hodges, is a guildsman. Before attaining to his present position he moved, at the 1918 miners' conference, a resolution calling for the redrafting of the mines nationalization bill on guild lines. This was carried, and the miners proceeded to redraft their bill accordingly. Early in 1919 they were called upon to lay their proposals be-

fore the coal commission. Their principal witness was Mr. W. Straker, another guildsman, secretary of the Northumberland Miners' Association, who presented before the commission a scheme for guild control. Mr. R. H. Tawney, another guildsman, is a member of the coal commission, together with Mr. Hodges. Thus, while there are comparatively few actual miner members of the National Guilds League, the policy of the league has to a great extent secured the support of the Miners' Federation.

The case is the same with the railway men. The programs both of the National Union of Railwaymen and of the Railway Clerks' Association are closely in conformity with the proposals of the National Guilds League, both alike aiming at the immediate national ownership of the industry and at the establishment of a system of joint control by the trade-unions and the State. The programs of the post office trade-unions are even more closely allied to national guilds, and in this case there is a close association between the two movements.

A somewhat different instance is that of the National Union of Teachers, which has just carried a national guilds amendment, moved by Mr. W. W. Hill, an active guildsman, by an overwhelming majority. In yet another sphere, the annual conference of the Independent Labor Party has just redefined its objects so as to bring them into conformity with guild ideas

Of course, it must not be imagined that the majority of British workers, manual or professional, are national guildsmen, or have ever heard of national guilds. The success of guild propaganda comes largely from the fact that it is working with the grain, and that circumstances are forcing the industries of Great Britain in the direction of guild organization. The conscious guildsman is still a rarity; but, with or without guildsmen, the guild idea continues to make headway in theory and practice alike.

Industrial Self-Government

It is now time to say more about the content and meaning of this idea of which we have so far been describing the external manifestations. Its central doctrine, as we have seen, is that the various industries and services ought to be democratically administered by those who work in them. It is, in fact, an attempt to apply to the industrial sphere the principles of

democracy and self-government which, in theory at least, are accepted as applying in the sphere of political government.

Guildsmen begin with an analysis of the existing industrial system from the standpoint of the wage worker. Their initial dogma is one which Mr. Gompers and others have made familiar (though with a different meaning) in the United States. It is that the labor of a human being is not a commodity or article of commerce, and that the present wage system, in treating labor as a commodity, is guilty of a violation of human justice and of human needs. Guildsmen point out (in common with Marx and many other writers) that the theory of the wage system is that the worker sells his labor power in return for a wage, and in so doing surrenders all claim not only to the product of his labor, but also to the control of the manner in which his labor is used. It is true that this theory is not fully realized in fact, because the collective intervention of trade-unions in industrial affairs does give the workers, in varying degrees, a considerable control over the manner in which their labor is used. This control, however, is purely negative; it amounts at most to a veto upon the employers' proposals for the use of labor, and not to any positive control by the workers over the conditions of their industry. It therefore necessarily tends to be restrictive rather than directive in its operation.

This system, and indeed the whole existing industrial order, rests upon the willingness of the workers, or the compulsion upon the workers, to go on working for a wage. As soon as the workers refuse to work for wages, and are strong enough to implement their refusal, the wage system necessarily collapses. The vulnerable point of the capitalist system is therefore to be found in its dependence upon the acquiescence of labor. The "way out" of the wage system, in the view of the national guilds writers, lies, then, in a refusal by the workers to work for wages. This implies a growth in power and consciousness on the part of labor, and a transference of the "control of labor" from the employers to the trade-unions. Guildsmen therefore work for a monopoly of labor and the creation of a blackleg-proof trade-union organization, both by a widening of trade-union membership among the manual workers, and by a progressive inclusion in the trade-unions of the workers concerned in management, technicians, professionals and supervisors.

The problem, however, is not merely one of widening trade-union membership. It also involves a reorganization of trade-union structure and policy. Guildsmen desire that trade-unions should direct their policy expressly to the securing of control over industry through the control of labor. They envisage the strategy of trade-unionism as a constant encroachment upon the sphere of control at present occupied by the employer or his representatives Two instances will serve to indicate the general lines of this policy. In the first place, foremen and other supervisors are at present appointed and paid by the employer, and are often compelled to resign trade-union membership, or at least active membership, on their appointment. Guildsmen desire that foremen and other direct supervisors of labor should be chosen (subject to qualifications for the post) by the workers, and that they should be members of the trade-unions including these workers. Moreover, guildsmen desire that such supervisors should be paid by the union and not by the employer Indeed, they desire that all workers should be in this position, the union making a collective contract with the employer for the whole of the labor employed, and then paying the various individuals, including the supervisors, out of the sum realized This might operate either under a time-work, or under a collective piecework, system

Secondly, guildsmen lay great stress upon the development of workshop organization as an integral part of trade-union machinery They see in the shop steward and the trade-union works committee the germ of an organization capable of assuming control of the productive processes in the workshop. They have therefore devoted considerable attention to the growth of this movement, and have endeavored to bring out the importance of giving to it, as far as possible, a constructive character. At the same time, they have urged the importance of giving to workshop machinery a greater recognition and a more assured place in trade-union organization In particular, they have emphasized the need for using workshop machinery as a means of fitting the trade-unions for assuming the function of industrial management.

Of course, the greatest barrier to development in the lines suggested above is recognized by guildsmen as lying in the present chaotic and sectional organization of British trade-unionism. They are therefore advocates of union by industry, and of the systematic amalgamation of trade-unions on indus-

trial lines. They recognize that it is impossible for the workers to assume any considerable measure of control while they are divided among a large number of sectional, and often competing or overlapping, unions, so that in any particular establishment the workers employed often belong to as many as a dozen separate societies and sometimes to many more. A real policy of control clearly implies the unification of forces, and guildsmen have therefore been prominent in the movement for amalgamation, and also for the organization of the salaried employees in trade-unions and, wherever possible, their fusion in one society with the manual workers.

Nationalization of Industry

Some of the measures suggested above are directed primarily to the assumption of control in cases in which industries continue to be privately owned. Guildsmen, however, are opposed to private ownership of industry, and strongly in favor of public ownership. Of course this does not mean that they desire to see industry bureaucratically administered by State departments. They aim at the control of industry by national guilds including the whole personnel of the industry. But they do not desire the ownership of any industry by the workers employed in it Their aim is to establish industrial democracy by placing the administration in the hands of the workers, but at the same time to eliminate profit by placing the ownership in the hands of the public. Thus the workers in a guild will not be working for profit. The prices of their commodities and indirectly at least the level of their remuneration will be subject to a considerable measure of public control. The guild system is one of industrial partnership between the workers and the public, and is thereby sharply distinguished from the proposals known as "Syndicalist."

Immediately, guildsmen press for the nationalization or municipalization of the ownership of every industry or service which can be regarded as ripe for public ownership, and especially of such great public service as mines, railways, and other transport, shipbuilding, and electricity At the same time, in connection with any such measure of nationalization, they aim at the immediate establishment of a system of joint control, in order that the workers may at once assume the fullest share in the administration that is immediately practicable. For in-

stance, in the case of the mines, guildsmen suggest as an immediate measure administration by a mining council half of which will represent the mining trade-unions, the other half being appointed by the State from technical experts and, perhaps, from persons chosen to represent consumers. This would not, of course, mean the setting up of a mining guild; but it would, in the opinion of guildsmen, be a long step toward the creation of such a body.

Theoretical Aspects of National Guilds Movement

Turning now to some of the more theoretical aspects of the national guilds system: As explained at the outset, the government idea of national guilds is that of industrial self-government and democracy. Guildsmen hold that democratic principles are fully as applicable to industry as to politics. Indeed, they feel that political institutions can never be really or fully democratic unless they are combined with democratic institutions in the industrial sphere. Their contention is that true democracy must really be functional democracy, in the sense that a democratic commonwealth can only be based on the democratic organization of all its parts. From the standpoint of the individual citizen this means that he should be self-governing in relation to the various functions which he performs—self-governing in his economic life as a producer as well as in his life as a member of the State or local authority.

The basic argument put forward by national guildsmen is a two-fold argument. It is at once human and economic. On the human side, it urges that human freedom, in the sense of self-government, is an ultimate good; and that any system that does not assure this self-government has to incur the blame of inhumanity. The human argument is that men ought to be self-governing, quite apart from the economic consequences of self-government.

The economic argument is rather more complicated. It is that the best way of getting industry efficiently organized is to rely on the good will, and to enlist to the full the co-operation, of the persons employed in it. This general argument, moreover, is strongly reinforced by a reference to the immediate economic situation. Guildsmen point out that the control over labor hitherto exercised by the capitalist under the existing system is breaking down; its operation is already subject to

considerable limitations, and its progressive limitation is proceeding at an increasing rate. The continuance of capitalist industry and of the wage system is thus becoming constantly more precarious, more liable to interruptions by labor troubles, and more seriously menaced with absolute stoppage. Guildsmen contend that before the existing system completely breaks down, it is necessary to begin its replacement by a democratic system, and that this replacement must begin at once if an intervening period of anarchy, following upon a complete breakdown of the wage system, is to be avoided. Above everything else, the guildsman contends that the future of society can be assured only by the adoption of an economic system based on trust of the individual worker and on the enlistment of human co-operation in industry by the progressive establishment of democratic forms and methods of administration.

MANAGEMENT SHARING

(*a*) SHOP COMMITTEES

COMMITTEE SYSTEM IN AMERICAN SHOPS[1]

Before the United States went into the war there were very few shop committee systems in American industrial plants. Outstanding, however was the "plan of representation" of the Colorado Fuel & Iron Company instituted by the Rockefeller interests as a result of the sincere attempt to find some way to eliminate sources of friction between the men and the management in their great Western properties. This plan was inaugurated in 1915 Some four years prior to this time, Hart, Schaffner and Marx (1911) had entered into an agreement with the unions which called for the establishment of a very thorough system of representation and adjudication. The White Motor Company put a less elaborate plan into effect in 1915, and here and there other companies are to be found adopting the principle of collective bargaining, worked out in more or less detail. In 1892 Mr. H. F. J. Porter, industrial engineer, introduced democratic principles into the management of one of the smaller Westinghouse companies, and, of course, the "protocols" in the cloak and suit industries in New York and elsewhere dated back to 1915 or earlier.

With the entrance of the United States into the war the Federal Government, taking the role of stabilizer and accelerator of war production, turned to the principle of the shop committee as one which should be introduced into practice at this critical time. The National War Labor Board, the United States Shipping Board, the War Labor Policies Board and other governmental agencies promoted the establishment of shop committees and other forms of collective bargaining wherever the Government entered into industrial controversies either as an employer or as an arbitrator. There was thus established a body of experience, which, in spite of its war-time origin, has

1 By W. L Stoddard. From an article in Industrial Management. 57:473-6. June, 1919.

given leaders of industry and leaders of labor something concrete to study and observe.

Experience in England

Of course, the experience of England during the war was of immense value to America. No discussion of the shop committee is complete without reference to the famous reports of the Whiteley Committee and of the Garton Foundation which laid the basis for the new structure of industrial government which is rapidly taking form in Great Britain. The principles on which this movement is based were probably never better nor more succinctly expressed than in these paragraphs from the Garton Foundation report:

(a) The first necessity of the Industrial Situation is greater efficiency of production. In order to meet the difficulties created by the war, to make good the losses of capital, and to raise the standard of living amongst the mass of our people, we must endeavor to increase both the volume and the quality of output.

(b) In order that this result may be obtained without detriment to the social welfare of the community, it must be sought for rather in improved organization and the elimination of waste and friction, than in adding to the strain on the workers, and must be accompanied by a change of attitude and spirit which will give to industry a worthier and more clearly recognized place in our national life.

(c) This can only be accomplished if the sectional treatment of industrial questions is replaced by the active cooperation of labor, management and capital to raise the general level of productive capacity, to maintain a high standard of workmanship, and to improve working conditions.

(d) It is essential to the securing of such coöperation that labor, as a party to industry, should have a voice in matters directly concerning its special interests, such as rates of pay and conditions of employment. It is necessary to create adequate machinery both for securing united action in the pursuit of common ends and for the equitable adjustment of points which involve competing interest. This machinery must be sufficiently powerful to enable both sides to accept its decisions with confidence that any agreement arrived at will be generally observed.

These observations and recommendations apply with almost equal truth and force to the United States. Indeed, the report of the Garton Foundation has already met with high approval from leaders of labor and industry, and it may be said with reasonable accuracy that, generally speaking, the best opinion is in favor of their application, in spirit if not in whole or in part to the industrial situation in this country. For the moment the question of union versus unorganized labor has sunk into insignificance. The appalling menace of Bolshevism has called a truce to the internecine strife between capital and labor, and our energies are bent rather to the task of cooperation instead of competition, to the task of "getting together" and pulling together against a common enemy in the shape of anarchy, instead of continuing the old warfare.

Possible Development of Shop Committee System

Strictly speaking, the shop committee is only one item in the new program of industrial peace, but so far it is the item which has made itself most widely and most favorably known here. I think that it is not looking very far ahead to picture the development in thousands of factories of shop committee systems by means of which men and management are daily brought into close contact to solve together certain mutually important problems of management. Sooner or later there will spring up joint industrial councils covering either the nation or a smaller local area or both; and presently we may find a semi-permanent national council composed of the leaders of labor and of industry, representative of all labor and all industry. This may be some years in the making, but it is surely on its way. Even to-day in the building trades there is under consideration a plan for a joint national council composed of four representative labor men and four representatives of such organizations as the American Contractors' Association, the American Institute of Architects, and so on My information is that this plan is practically certain of adoption.

What is this shop committee system, which is the basis of it all?

It takes many forms, but its essential principles seem to me to be these:

The shop committee, or a shop committee system, is a system of government set up in a plant by mutual consent and after common study on the part of employer and employed, the main object of it being to bring about well-ordered personal and official relations between truly representative representatives of the partners in any given industry—the employers and the employees. In developing a typical or ideal shop committee system, a joint committee of men and management district the plant, dividing it into convenient administrative units whose size may vary from 50 to 200 or 300 employees; provide for the secret, uninfluenced election by the employees of representative committees for these units; provide for an appeal to a general committee; agree on rules and procedure for the working of the system; and devise, though this is usually the duty of the management alone, for an appointive representation of the management to meet jointly with representatives

and committees of the men for the settlement of ordinary and extraordinary grievances, often including a general revision of the wage scale, questions of employment, and so on. The basis of the shop committee system is mutuality of interest or partnership—democracy in industry.

How the Committee System Was Installed

Let me illustrate this by a concrete example: In a certain large industrial plant employing some 10,000 men and women, there has recently been introduced a shop committee system This system was worked out in conference by the management and a committee of employers, sitting with an administrator of the National War Labor Board which had made an award decreeing a shop committee system The plant was first divided into some 60 sections, varying in size from 75 to over 300 employees working at more or less the same craft or occupation These sections were then grouped, two to five in a group, into "shop," the "shops" representing similar or allied manufacture and having in addition a geographical reason for their existence. Each section at a secret election, attended by the employees alone, chose two representatives Each shop chose from the sectional representatives three men and women to serve on the joint shop committee, and all the sectional representatives, meeting and voting at a convention, elected the employee members of the general adjustment committee. The management at the same time appointed its representatives to meet with the employee representatives, thus completing the system.

One would find difficulty in laying down any hard and fast rules for the definition of a shop committee system. The Whitley report very wisely avoided detailed discussion of shop committees, and contented itself with outlining functions and defining principles, rather than rules. A shop committee system must fit the peculiar local conditions of the plant in which it is to operate. In some plants it must necessarily be elaborate, and in others simple. But to succeed in any plant a shop committee system must be based on full, frank and free discussion between men and management, and animated by the spirit of actual cooperation The object is cooperation, the breaking down of autocratic management, the establishment of a measure of industrial democracy, the giving of the responsibility and privilege of management in part into the hands of the employees.

Types of Shop Committees

Several type forms of shop committee systems are springing up in this country. It is impossible in the space of this article to catalog or describe them all, but I wish to call attention to three which are of importance. One may be called the War Labor Board type; a second is the Rockefeller type; a third is patterned after the United States Government. Let us take the last first.

The William Demuth Company of New York City has a plan of this sort. There is a cabinet, a senate and a house of representatives. The cabinet consists of Mr. Demuth and his executives. The senate consists of about 30 foremen from the various departments The house of representatives consists of employees elected by the body of employees—the "people." Each department elects one representative, and the senate has one senator from each department. Any question may be brought up in either body. When an issue cannot be settled by agreement of house, senate and cabinet, it goes to a judicial council or board of conciliation composed of one man selected by the employer, one by the employee, and one selected by these two.

Plans of this type appear to operate successfully, though in one or two plants the upper body or senate has been abandoned in favor of the scheme of direct contact between representatives of the men and foremen.

What I have called the Rockefeller type is exemplified in the works of the Standard Oil Company at Bayonne, N. J. The works are divided into divisions, not necessarily along craft or occupational lines, but including in one division several crafts. Each division is represented by at least two representatives, elected secretly, and there is at least one representative to every 150 employees. The representatives deal with the management in discussing problems which arise in the plant. This type of shop committee is very simple and is not adapted to factories where the employees, either through a high degree of organization, or otherwise, are insistent on strict craft representation.

The War Labor Board plan is more flexible than either of these. Its essential features are thus described in an official statement on procedure in the election of shop committees:

Shop committees shall be selected to meet with an equal or a lesser number of representatives to be selected by the employer. Each department or section of the shop shall be entitled to one committeeman for each

one hundred employees employed in the department or section If in any department or section there shall be employees in excess of any even hundred, then an additional committeeman may be elected provided the additional employees beyond the even hundred shall be fifty or more; if less than fifty, no additional representation shall be allowed. As an example: In a department or section employing 330 men, three committeemen will be eleced; in a department employing 375 men, four committeemen will be elected.

It is also suggested by the War Labor Board, and this suggestion is of the greatest practical value, that "the committees shall not only be of manageable size, . . . but shall give definite proportional representation to as many occupational or other natural groups, including women, as may be possible. . . . While it is manifestly impossible for every minor occupation or minor department to be represented upon shop committees, it is possible to do justice in every case, provided the local situation is understood, and only when it is understood."

Primary Considerations and Principles

From this rough analysis certain primary considerations stand out. One, of course, is that the actual choosing of representatives of the employees to deal with employees is a matter solely to be done by the employees. This principle is common to all the varieties of shop committee systems. Another consideration is that provision must be made for the interchange of ideas between the men and the management. This principle is likewise basic and common to all types, but in the different types described it is evident that different methods and degrees of joint counsel are obtained.

A frequent criticism of the Rockefeller scheme as illustrated in the Bayonne plan is that the employees are not sufficiently represented; that is to say, they do not have enough representatives, and the representatives are chosen from blocks of employees, so to speak, rather than from the trades or crafts. It is probable that such a scheme is desirable in a relatively new system and in plants where the men are not well educated. A criticism of the type of plan such as we see in the Demuth factory is that instead of a two-chamber system of government, a single chamber, or a single set, of joint committees is preferable. The analogy with the United States Government is, furthermore, open to criticism. In the United States Government both the Senate and the House represent the people, whereas in the shop committee system based on the Federal Government the Senate represents the employer, and the house the employee

or people. The War Labor Board plan, lastly, is so much more flexible than either of these types that it is not subject to the same criticism. In fact, the War Labor Board plan seems to the writer to be the best of all, because it is based on the democratic principle of self-determination; that is to say, of adapting the system of government to the environment. In addition, this plan recognizes a fundamental fact when it declares that due consideration must be given to craft groupings.

Plants Having Shop Committees

When all is said and done, it must be remembered that the shop committee is an institution of recent growth in the United States and that it is in process of finding itself. For the information of those who are interested in looking into the many and interesting problems which arise in this movement, I have prepared the following list of plants having some kind of shop committee system, more or less fully developed. The War Labor Board systems were installed in 1918. Wherever possible, I have given the approximate date of installation of the other plans:

Plans installed by the National War Labor Board

Bethlehem Steel Co., South Bethlehem, Pa.
Corn Products Refining Co., four plants, Granite City, Ill., Argo, Ill., Pekin, Ill, and Edgewater, N. J.
General Electric Co., two plants, Pittsfield, Mass., and Lynn, Mass.
Maryland Pressed Steel Co., Hagerstown, Md.
Mason Machine Works, Taunton, Mass.
Munition Establishments at Bridgeport, Conn., sixty-five in number.
Philadelphia Rapid Transit Co., Philadelphia, Pa.
Smith & Wesson Co, Springfield, Mass.
Standard Wheel Co., Terre Haute, Ind.
Waynesboro, Pa, machine shops.
Willys-Overland Plant, Elyria, Ohio.

In addition, the War Labor Board ordered shop committee systems in the Virginia Bridge and Iron Co., Roanoke, Va.; the Southern California Iron and Steel Co, Los Angeles, Calif.; the Worthington Pump and Machinery Corporation and the Power and Mining Works, Cudahy, Wis.; the New York Cen-

tral Iron Works, Inc., Hagerstown, Md.; the Savage Arms Corporation, Utica, N. Y., and others. The plans first listed are apparently the most elaborate

Other Plans

Colorado Fuel and Iron Co, Colorado, 1915.
Standard Oil Co. of New Jersey, Bayonne, N J., 1918
International Harvester Co., Chicago, Ill, several plants, 1919.
Demuth Manufacturing Co, New York City, 1917
Packard Piano Co., Fort Wayne, Ind. 1913
Bethlehem Shipbuilding Corporation, Sparrow's Point, Md, 1918.
Printz-Biederman Co., Cleveland, Ohio, 1913
Morris Herman & Co., Newark, N J
Irving-Pitt Manufacturing Co, Kansas City, Mo, 1917.
American Rolling Mills Co, Middletown, Ohio, 1904.
Browning Co, Cleveland, Ohio, 1917
Acme Wire Co, New Haven, Conn, 1918.
Dennison Manufacturing Co, Framingham, Mass, 1918
Dutchess Manufacturing Co, Poughkeepsie, N. Y, 1918
Globe Wernicke Co, Cincinnati, Ohio, 1918
Hart Schaffner & Marx, Chicago, Ill, 1911.
Hickey-Freeman Co, Rochester, N Y
Hydraulic Pressed Steel Co., Cleveland, Ohio, 1918.
The Joseph & Feiss Co, Cleveland, Ohio.
Leeds Northrup Co., Philadelphia, Pa, 1918.
Procter and Gamble Co., Ivorydale, Ohio, 1917.
White Motor Co., Cleveland, Ohio, 1915.
Hercules Powder Co, Kenvil, N. J, 1917
Sidney Blumenthal Co., Shelton, Conn, 1917.
Morse Dry Dock Co., Brooklyn, N. Y, 1916
Garner Print Works, Wappinger Falls, N. Y., 1918.
Sprague Electric Works, Bloomfield, N. J, 1918.
Midvale Steel and Ordnance Co, and subsidiaries, Johnstown, Pa, 1918.
Shipyards wherever covered by Government awards, 1918
Loyal Legion of Loggers and Lumbermen, Portland, Ore (headquarters), 1918.

With the spreading of this movement toward representation in industry it is imperative that some central body, possibly a government agency, should act as a bureau of information

so that students of the shop committee may be able to secure information without duplication of effort and unnecessary research.

Relations of Unions to Shop Committees

So far I have not spoken of the union in relation to the shop committee. This opens up a large field of discussion which it is unnecessary to enter at this time. It should be said, however, that in union shops where the men and the management deal with each other through union representatives, the shop committee system is already operating, in spirit and to a degree in fact. But it is the belief of many advocates of the shop committee idea that union recognition does not always do away with the necessity for a shop committee system. Such has been found to be the case in Great Britain where, owing to the stress of the war, the union mechanism was proved to be unadaptable to the problems of intensive management brought about by the war.

War-worn England, facing internal revolution while in the midst of the greatest struggle of all time against autocratic domination of the world, turned to the basic principles of the shop committee and the joint industrial council as the only possible road toward industrial peace and prosperity. Fortunately we in this country have not faced the peril which England had to face. But that is no reason why we should not study with the profoundest interest both the English theory and practice of effecting co-operation between labor and capital as well as the theory and practice which America is developing in her own way.

(*b*) Workshop Councils

WORKSHOP COMMITTEES[1]

Preface to English Edition

Some time ago I was asked to prepare a memorandum on the subject of Workshop Committees, for presentation to the British Association, as a part of the report of a special subcommittee studying industrial unrest. The following pages con-

[1] By C. G. Renold. Survey. 41: Sec. 1. October 5, 1918.

tain the gist of that memorandum, and are now issued in this form for the benefit of some of those interested in the problem who may not see the original report.

I have approached the subject with the conviction that the worker's desire for more scope in his working life can best be satisfied by giving him some share in the directing of it; if not of the work itself, at least of the conditions under which it is carried out. I have tried, therefore, to work out in some detail the part which organisations of workers might play in works administration. And believing as I do, that the existing industrial system, with all its faults and injustices, must still form the basis of any future system, I am concerned to show that a considerable development of joint action between management and workers is possible, even under present conditions.

Many of the ideas put forward are already incorporated to a greater or lesser degree in the institutions of these works, but these notes are not intended, primarily, as an account of our experiments, still less as a forecast of the future plans of this firm. Our own experience and hopes do however, form the basis of much here written, and have inevitably influenced the general line of thought followed.

C. G. RENOLD,
Hans Renold Limited, Manchester.

Burnage Works.

Introduction

Throughout the following notes it is assumed that the need is realised for a new orientation of ideas with regard to industrial management It is further assumed that the trend of such ideas must be in the direction of a devolution of some of the functions and responsibilities of management on to the workers themselves. These notes, therefore, are concerned mainly with considering how far this devolution can be carried under present conditions, and the necessary machinery for enabling it to operate

Before passing, however, to detailed schemes, it is worth considering briefly what the aims of this devolution are.

It must be admitted that the conditions of industrial life fail to satisfy the deeper needs of the workers, and that it is this failure, even more than low wages, which is responsible for much of their general unrest. Now the satisfaction to be

derived from work depends upon its being a means of self-expression. This again depends on the power of control exercised by the individual over the materials and processes used, and the conditions under which the work is carried out, or in the case of complicated operations, where the individual can hardly be other than a "cog in the machine,"—on the willingness, understanding, and imagination with which he undertakes such a rôle In the past the movement in industry, in this respect, has been all in the wrong direction, namely, a continual reduction of freedom, initiative, and interest, involving an accentuation of the "cog-in-the-machine" status. Moreover, it has too often produced a "cog" blind and unwilling, with no perspective or understanding of the part it plays in the general mechanism of production, or even in any one particular series of operations.

Each successive step in the splitting up and specialising of operations has been taken with a view to promoting efficiency of production, and there can be no doubt that efficiency, in a material sense, has been achieved thereby, and the productivity of industry greatly increased. This has been done, however, at the cost of pleasure and interest in work, and the problem now is how far these could be restored, as, for instance, by some devolution of management responsibility on to the workers, and how far such devolution is possible under the competitive capitalist system, which is likely to dominate industry for many long years to come.

Under the conditions of capitalist industry any scheme of devolution of management can only stand provided it involves no net loss of productive efficiency. It is believed, however, that even within these limits, considerable progress in this direction is possible, doubtless involving some detail loss, but with more than compensating gains in general efficiency. In this connection it must be remembered that the work of very many men, probably of most, is given more or less unwillingly, and even should the introduction of more democratic methods of business management entail a certain amount of loss of mechanical efficiency, due to the greater cumbersomeness of democratic proceedings, if it can succeed in obtaining more willing work and co-operation, the net gain in productivity would be enormous.

Important and urgent as is this problem of rearranging the machinery of management to enable responsibility and

power to be shared with the workers, another and preliminary step is even more pressing. This is the establishing of touch and understanding between employer and employed, between management and worker. Quite apart from the many real grievances under which workers in various trades are suffering at the present time, there is a vast amount of bad feeling, due to misunderstanding, on the part of each side, of the aims and motives of the other. Each party, believing the other to be always ready to play foul, finds in every move easy evidence to support its bitterest suspicions The workers are irritated beyond measure by the inefficiency and blundering in organisation and management which they detect on every side, and knowing nothing of business management cannot understand or make allowance for the enormous difficulties under which employers labour at the present time. Similarly, employers are too ignorant of trade union affairs to appreciate the problems which the present "lighting transformation" of industry present to those responsible for shaping trade union policy; nor is the employer generally in close enough human touch to realise the effect of the long strain of war work, and of the harassing restrictions of personal liberty.

More important therefore than any reconstruction of management machinery, more important even than the remedying of specific grievances, is the establishing of some degree of ordinary human touch and sympathy between management and men.

This also has an important bearing on any discussion with regard to developing machinery for joint action. It cannot be emphasized too strongly that the hopefulness of any such attempt lies, not in the perfection of the machinery, nor even in the wideness of the powers of self-government granted to the workers, but in the degree to which touch and, if possible, friendliness can be established It should be realised, for instance, by employers, that time spent on discussing and ventilating alleged grievances which turn out to be no grievances, may be quite as productive of understanding and good feeling as the removal of real grievances.

Passing now to constructive proposals for devolution of management, the subject is here dealt with mainly in two stages.

Under Section I., some of the functions of management which most concern the workers are considered, with a view

to seeing how far the autocratic (or bureaucratic) secrecy and exclusiveness which usually surround business management, as far as workers are concerned, is really unavoidable, or how far it could be replaced by democratic discussion and joint action. The conclusion is that there is no reason inherent in the nature of the questions themselves why this cannot be done to a very considerable extent.

Section II deals with the second stage referred to, and considers the machinery needed to make such joint action, as is suggested in Section I, workable—a very different matter from admitting that in itself it is not impossible! The apparent complication of such machinery is doubtless a difficulty, but it is not insuperable, and is in practice less formidable than it seems at first sight It must be realised, however, that the degree of elaboration of the machinery for joint working, adopted by any particular industry or firm, must be in relation to the elaboration of the existing management system. It would be quite impossible for many of the requirements of discussion and joint action suggested to be adopted by a firm whose ordinary business organisation was crude, undeveloped, and unsystematic. This point is more fully dealt with in this section.

Section III contains a summary of the scheme of Committees contained in Section II, showing the distribution to each committee of the various questions discussed in Section I.

In Section IV some comments are made, based on actual experience of an attempt to institute machinery of the kind discussed, and some practical hints are given which may be of assistance to others.

SECTION I

Scope of Workers' Shop Organisations; Management Questions Which Could Be Devolved, Wholly or in Part

It is proposed in this section to consider the activities which organisations of workers within the workshop might undertake without any radical reorganisation of industry. What functions and powers, usually exercised by the management, could be devolved on to the workers, and what questions, usually considered private by the management, could be made the subject of explanation and consultation? The number of such questions as set out in this section may appear very formid-

able, and is possibly too great to be dealt with, except by a very gradual process. No thought is given at this stage, however, to the machinery which would be necessary for achieving so much joint working, the subject being considered rather with a view to seeing how far, and in what directions, the inherent nature of the questions themselves would make it possible or advisable to break down the censorship and secrecy which surround business management.

In the list which follows, obviously not all questions are of equal urgency, those being most important which provide means of consultation and conciliation in regard to such matters as most frequently give rise to disputes, namely, wage and piece-rate questions, and to a lesser degree, workshop practices and customs. Any scheme of joint working should begin with these matters, the others being taken over as the machinery settles down and it is found practicable to do so. How far any particular business can go will depend on the circumstances of the trade, and on the type of organisation in operation.

Through machinery for conciliation in connection with existing troubles, such as those mentioned, must be the first care, some of the other matters suggested in this section—*e.g.*, safety and hygiene, shop amenities, etc.—should be dealt with at the earliest possible moment. Such subjects, being less controversial, offer an easier means of approach for establishing touch and understanding between managers and men.

The suggestions in this section are divided into two main groups, but this division is rather a matter of convenience than an indication of any vital difference in nature. The suggestions are arranged in order of urgency, those coming first where the case for establishing a workers' shop organization is so clear as to amount to a right, and passing gradually to those where the case is more and more questionable. The first group, therefore, contains all those items where the case is clearest and in connection with which the immediate benefits would fall to the workers. The second group contains the more questionable items, which lie beyond the region where the shoe actually pinches the worker. These questions are largely educational, and the immediate benefit of action, considered as a business proposition, would accrue to the management through the greater understanding of management and business difficulties on the part of the workers.

1. Questions in connection with which Shop Organisations would primarily benefit the Workers

This group deals with those matters where the case for establishing shop organisations, to meet the need of the workers, is clearest.

(a) *Collective Bargaining*

There is a need for machinery for carrying this function of the trade union into greater and more intimate workshop detail than is possible by any outside body. A workshop organisation might supplement the ordinary trade union activities in the following directions:—

1. Wages.

(Note.—General standard rates would be fixed by negotiation with the trade union for an entire district, not by committees of workers in individual works.)

To ensure the application of standard rates to individuals, to see that they get the benefit of the trade union agreements.

When a *scale* of wages, instead of a single rate, applies to a class of work (the exact figure varying according to the experience, length of service, etc., of the worker) to see that such scales are applied fairly.

To see that promises of advances (such as those made, for instance, at the time of engagement) are fulfilled.

To see that apprentices, on completing their time, are raised to the standard rate by the customary or agreed steps.

2. Piece-Work Rates

(It is assumed that the general method of rate fixing—*e. g.*, the adoption of time study or other method—would be settled with the local trade unions.)

To discuss with the management the detailed method of rate fixing, as applied either to individual jobs or to particular classes of work.

Where there is an agreed relation between time rates and piece rates as, for instance, in engineering, to see that individual piece rates are so set as to yield the standard rate of earning.

To discuss with the management reduction of piece rates where these can be shown to yield higher earnings than the standard

To investigate on behalf of the workers complaints as to inability to earn the standard rate. For this purpose all the data and calculations, both with regard to the original setting of the rate and with regard to time booking on a particular job, would have to be open for examination.

Note.—It is doubtful whether a shop committee, on account of its cumbersomeness, could ever handle detail, individual rates, except where the jobs dealt with are so large or so standardized as to make the number of rates to be set per week quite small. A better plan would be for a representative of the workers, preferably paid by them, to be attached to the rate-fixing department of a works, to check all calculations, and to look after the workers' interests generally. He would report to a shop committee, whose discussions with the management would then be limited to questions of principle.

3. Watching the Application of Special Legislation, Awards, or Agreements—e. g.,

Munitions of war act, dilution, leaving certificates, etc.

Recruiting, exemptions.

After-war arrangements, demobilisation of war industries, restoration of trade union conditions, etc.

4 Total Hours of Work

To discuss any proposed change in the length of the standard week. This could only be done by the workers' committee of an individual

firm, provided the change were *within* the standards fixed by agreement with the local union of those customary in the trade.

5. NEW PROCESS OR CHANGE OF PROCESS
   Where the management desire to introduce some process which will throw men out of employment, the whole position should be placed before a shop committee to let the necessity be understood, and to allow it to discuss how the change may be brought about with the least hardship to individuals

6 GRADES OF WORKER FOR TYPES OF MACHINE
   Due to the introduction of new types of machines, and to the splitting up of processes, with the simplification of manipulation sometimes entailed thereby, the question of the grade of worker to be employed on a given type of machine continually arises. Many such questions are so general as to be the subject of trade union negotiation, but many more are quite local to particular firms. For either kind there should be a works committee within the works to deal with their application there.

(*b*) *Grievances*

The quick ventilating of grievances and injustices to individuals or to classes of men, is of the greatest importance in securing good feeling The provision of means for voicing such complaints acts also as a check to petty tyranny, and is a valuable help to the higher management in giving an insight into what is going on.

A shop committee provides a suitable channel in such cases as the following:—

Alleged petty tyranny by foremen
Hard cases arising out of too rigid application of rules, etc.
Alleged mistakes in wages or piece work payments.
Wrongful dismissal, *e. g.*, for alleged disobediance, etc, etc

In all cases of grievances or complaints it is most important that the body bringing them should be of sufficient weight and standing to speak its mind freely.

(*c*) *General Shop Conditions and Amenities*

On all those questions which affect the community life of the factory, the fullest consultation is necessary, and considerable self-government is possible.

The following indicate the kind of question:—

1. SHOP RULES
   Restriction of smoking.
   Tidiness, cleaning of machines, etc
   Use of lavatories and cloakrooms
   Provision, care and type of overalls
   Time-booking arrangements.
   Wage-paying arrangements, etc, etc.

2. MAINTENANCE OF DISCIPLINE
   It should be possible to promote such a spirit in a works that, not only could the workers have a say in the drawing up of Shop Rules, but the enforcing of them could also be largely in their hands This would be particularly desirable with regard to:—
   Enforcing good time-keeping.
   Maintaining tidiness.
   Use of lavatories and cloakrooms
   Promoting a high standard of general behaviour, etc., etc.

3 WORKING CONDITIONS
Meal hours, starting and stopping times.
Arrangements for holidays, etc
Arrangement of shifts, night work, etc.
4. ACCIDENTS AND SICKNESS
Safety appliances and practices.
Machine guards, etc.
Administration of First Aid
Rest room arrangements
Medical examination and advice.
5. DINING SERVICE
Consultation *re* requirements.
Criticisms of and suggestions *re* service
Control of discipline and behaviour.
Seating arrangements, etc.
6. SHOP COMFORT AND HYGIENE
Suggestions re temperature, ventilation, washing accommodation, drying clothes, etc.
Provision of seats at work, where possible
Drinking water supply.
7. BENEVOLENT WORK
Shop collections for charities or hard cases among fellow workers.
Sick club, convalescent home, etc.
Saving societies.

(*d*) *General Social Amenities*

A works tends to become a centre of social activities having no direct connection with its work, for example:—

Works picnics.
Games, *e. g.*, cricket, football, etc.
Musical societies.
Etc., etc.

These should all be organised by committees of the workers and not by the management.

2. QUESTIONS ON WHICH JOINT DISCUSSION WOULD PRIMARILY BE OF ADVANTAGE TO THE MANAGEMENT

In this group are those questions with regard to which there is no demand put forward by the workers, but where discussion and explanation on the part of the management would be desirable, and would tend to ease some of the difficulties of management. The institution of works committees would facilitate discussion and explanation in the following instances:—

(*a*) *Interpretation of Management to Workers*

In any case of new rules or new developments, or new workshop policy, there is always the greatest difficulty in getting the rank and file to understand what the management is "getting at." However well-meaning the change may be as regards the workers, the mere fact that it is new and not understood is likely to lead to opposition. If the best use is made of committees of workers, such changes, new develop-

ments, etc., would have been discussed, and explained to them, and it is not too much to expect that the members of such committees would eventually spread a more correct and sympathetic version of the management's intentions among their fellow-workers than these could get in any other way.

(*b*) *Education in Shop Processes and Trade Technique*

The knowledge of most workers is limited to the process with which they are concerned, and they would have a truer sense of industrial problems if they understood better the general technique of the industry in which they are concerned, and the relation of their particular process to others in the chain of manufacture from raw material to finished article.

It is possible that some of this education should be undertaken by technical schools, but their work in this respect can only be of a general nature, leaving still a field for detailed teaching which could only be undertaken in connection with an individual firm, or a small group of similar firms. Such education might well begin with the members of the committee of workers, though if found feasible it should not stop there, but should be made general for the whole works. Any such scheme should be discussed and worked out in conjunction with a committee of workers, in order to obtain the best results from it.

(*c*) *Promotion*

It is open to question whether the filling of any given vacancy could profitably be discussed between the management and the workers.

In connection with such appointments as shop foremen, where the position is filled by promoting a workman or "leading hand," it would at least be advisable to announce the appointment to the workers' committee before making it generally known. It might perhaps be possible to explain why a particular choice had been made. This would be indicated fairly well by a statement of the qualities which the management deemed necessary for such a post, thereby tending to head off some of the jealous disappointment always involved in such promotions, especially where the next in seniority is not taken.

It has of course been urged, generally by extremists, that workmen should choose their own foremen by election, but

this is not considered practical politics at present, though it may become possible and desirable when workers have had more practice in the exercise of self-management to the limited degree here imposed.

One of the difficulties involved in any general discussion of promotions, is the fact that there are so many parties concerned, and all from a different point of view. For example, in the appointment of a foreman, the workers are concerned as to how far the new man is sympathetic and helpful, and inspiring to work for. The other foremen are concerned with how far he is their equal in education and technical attainments, social standing, length of service, *i.e.,* as to whether he would make a good colleague. The manager is concerned, among other qualities, with his energy, loyalty to the firm, and ability to maintain discipline. Each of these three parties is looking for three different sets of qualities, and it is not often that a candidate can be found to satisfy all. Whose views then should carry most weight—the men's, the other foremen's, or the manager's?

It is quite certain, however, that it is well worth while making some attempt to secure popular understanding and approval of appointments made, and a worker's committee offers the best opportunity for this.

It would be possible to discuss a vacancy occuring in any grade with all the others in that grade. For example, to discuss with all shop foremen the possible candidates to fill a vacancy among the foremen. This is probably better than no discussion at all, and the foremen might be expected, to some extent, to reflect the feeling among their men. Here again, the establishing of any such scheme might well be discussed with the committee of workers.

(d) Education in General Business Questions

This point is still more doubtful than the preceding. Employers continually complain that the workers do not understand the responsibilities and the risks which they, as employers, have to carry, and it would seem desirable therefore to take some steps to enable them to do so. In some directions this would be quite feasible, *e.g.:*

1. **The reasons should be explained and discussed for the establishment of new works departments, or the re-organisation of existing ones, the relation of the new arrangement to the general manufacturing policy being demonstrated.**

2. Some kind of simplified works statistics might be laid before a committee of workers. For example:
   Output.
   Cost of new equipment installed.
   Cost of tools used in given period
   Cost of raw material consumed.
   Number employed.
   Amount of bad work produced.
3 Reports of activities of other parts of the business might be laid before them.
   (1) From the commercial side, showing the difficulties to be met, the general attitude of customers to the firm, etc
   (2) By the chief technical departments, design office, laboratory, etc, as to the general technical developments or difficulties that were being dealt with. Much of such work need not be kept secret, and would tend to show the workers that other factors enter into the production of economic wealth besides manual labour.
4. Simple business reports, showing general trade prospects, might be presented These are perhaps most difficult to give in any intelligible form, without publishing matter which every management would object to showing. Still, the attempt would be well worth making, and would show the workers how narrow is the margin between financial success and failure on which most manufacturing businesses work. Such statistics might, perhaps, be expressed not in actual amounts, but as proportions of the wages bill for the same period.

SECTION II

Types of Organisation

Having dealt in the previous section with the kinds of questions, which, judged simply by their nature, would admit of joint discussion or handling, it is now necessary to consider what changes are needed in the structure of business management to carry out such proposals. The development of the necessary machinery presents very considerable difficulties on account of the slowness of action and lack of executive precision which almost necessarily accompany democratic organisation, and which it is the express object of most business organisations to avoid.

The question of machinery for joint discussion and action is considered in this section in three aspects:—

1 The requirements which such machinery must satisfy.
2. The influence of various industrial conditions on the type of machinery likely to be adopted in particular trades or works.
3. Some detailed suggestions of shop committees of varying scope

1. Requirements to be Satisfied

(*a*) *Keeping in Touch with the Trade Unions*

It is obvious that no works committee can be a substitute for the trade union, and no attempt must be made by the employer to use it in this way. To allay any trade union suspi-

cion that this is the intention, and to ensure that the shop committee links up with the trade union organisation, it would be advisable to see that the trade union is represented in some fairly direct manner. This is specially important for any committee dealing with wages, piece work and such other working conditions as are the usual subject of trade union action.

In the other direction, it will be necessary for the trade unionists to develop some means of working shop committees into their scheme of organisation, otherwise there will be the danger of a works committee, able to act more quickly through being on the spot, usurping the place of the local district committee of the trade unions

(*b*) *Representation of all Grades*

The desirability of having all grades of workers represented on works committees is obvious, but it is not always easy to carry out owing to the complexity of the distribution of labour in most works. Thus, it is quite common for a single department, say in an engineering works, to contain several grades of workers, from skilled tradesmen to labourers, and possibly women. These grades will belong to different unions, and there may even be different, and perhaps competing, unions represented in the same grade Many of the workers also will not be in any union at all.

(*c*) *Touch with Management*

As a large part of the aim of the whole development is to give the workers some sense of management problems and point of view, it is most desirable that meetings between works committees and management should be frequent and regular, and not looked on merely as means of investing grievances or deadlocks when they arise. The works committee must not be an accidental excrescence on the management structure, but must be worked into it so as to become an integral part, with real and necessary functions.

(*d*) *Rapidity of Action*

Delays in negotiations between employers and labour are a constant source of irritation to the latter Every effort should be made to reduce them. Where this is impossible, due to the complications of the questions involved, the works committee should be given enough information to convince it

of this, and that the delay is not a deliberate attempt to shirk the issue.

On the other hand, the desire to attain rapidity of action should not lead to haphazard and "scratch" discussions or negotiations. These will only result in confusion, owing to the likelihood that some of those who ought to take part or be consulted over each question will be left out, or have insufficient opportunity for weighing up the matter. The procedure for working with or through works committees must, therefore, be definite and constitutional, so that, everyone knows how to get a grievance or suggestion put forward for consideration, and everyone concerned will be sure of receiving due notice of the matter.

The procedure must not be so rigid, however, as to preclude emergency negotiations to deal with sudden crises.

2. Influence of Various Industrial Conditions on the Type of Organisation of Shop Committees

There is no type of shop committee that will suit all conditions. Some industries can develop more easily in one direction and some in another, and in this subsection are pointed out some of the conditions which are likely to influence this.

(*a*) *Type of Labor*

The constitution of works committees, or the scheme of committees, which will suitably represent the workers of any particular factory, will depend very largely on the extent to which different trades and different grades of workers are involved.

In the simplest kind of works, where only one trade or craft is carried out, the workers, even though of different degrees of skill, would probably all be eligible for the same trade union. In such a case a purely trade union organisation, but based of course on works departments, would meet most of the requirements, and would probably, in fact, be already in existence.

In many works, however, at least in the engineering industry, a number of different "trades" are carried on. For instance, turning, automatic machine operating, blacksmithing, pattern-making, foundry work, etc. Many of these trades are represented by the same trade union, though the interests of

the various sections are often antagonistic, *e.g.*, in the case of turners and automatic machine operators. Some of the other trades mentioned belong to different unions altogether. In addition to these "tradesmen," will be found semi-skilled and unskilled laborers. For the most part these will belong to no union, though a few may belong to labouring unions which, however, have no special connection with the engineering unions. In addition to all these, there may be women whose position in relation to men's unions is still uncertain, and some of whose interests will certainly be opposed to those of some of the men.

The best way of representing all these different groups will depend on their relative proportion and distribution in any given works. Where women are employed in any considerable numbers it will probably be advisable for them to be represented independently of the men. For the rest it will probably be necessary to have at least two kinds of works committees: one representing trade unionists as such, chosen for convenience by departments, the other representing simply works departments. The first would deal with wages and the type of question usually forming the subject of discussion between employers and trade unions. The other would deal with all other workshop conditions. The first, being based on trade unions, would automatically take account of distinctions between different trades and different grades, whereas the second would be dealing with those questions in which such distinctions do not matter very much.

(*b*) *Stability and Regularity of Employment*

Where work is of an irregular or seasonal nature and workers are constantly being taken on and turned off, only the very simplest kind of committee of workers would be possible. In such industries probably nothing but a trade union organisation within the works would be possible. This would draw its strength from the existence of the trade union outside, which would, of course, be largely independent of trade fluctuations, and would be able to reconstitute the works committee as often as necessary, thus keeping it in existence, even should most of the previous members have been discharged through slackness.

(*c*) *Elaboration of Management Organisation*

The extent to which management functions can be dele-

gated, or management questions and policy be discussed with the workers depends very largely on the degree of completeness with which the management itself is organised. Where this is haphazard and management consists of a succession of emergencies, only autocratic control is possible, being the only method which is quick-acting and mobile enough Therefore, the better organised and more constitutional (in the sense of having known rules and procedures) the management is, the more possible is it for policy to be discussed with the workers

3. Some Schemes Suggested

The following suggestions for shop organization of workers are intended to form one scheme. Their individual value, however, does not depend on the adoption of the scheme as a whole, each being good as far as it goes.

(*a*) *Shop Stewards Committee*

As pointed out in the last sub-section, in a factory where the trade union is strong, there will probably be a shop stewards or trade union committee already in existence This is, of course, a committee of workers only, elected generally by the trade union members in the works, to look after their interests and to conduct negotiations for them with the management. Sometimes the stewards carry out other purely trade union work, such as collecting subscriptions, obtaining new members, explaining union rules, etc. Such a committee is the most obvious and simplest type of works committee, and where the composition of the shop is simple, *i e*, mainly one trade, with no very great differences in grade, a shop stewards committee could deal with many of the questions laid down as suitable for joint handling.

It is doubtful, however, whether a shop stewards committee can, or should, cover the full range of workers' activities, except in the very simplest type of works The mere fact that, as a purely trade union organisation, it will deal primarily with wages and piece-work questions, will tend to introduce an atmosphere of bargaining, which would make the discussion of more general questions very difficult. Further, such a committee would be likely to consider very little else than the interests of the trade union, or of themselves as trade unionists. While this is no doubt quite legitimate as regards

such questions as wages, the more general questions of workshop amenities should be considered from the point of view of the works as a community in which the workers have common interests with the management in finding and maintaining the best conditions possible. Moreover, in many shops, where workers of widely differing grades and trades are employed, a shop stewards committee is not likely to represent truly the whole of the workers, but only the better organised sections.

The shop stewards committee, in the engineering trade at least, is fairly certain to constitute itself without any help from the management. The management should hasten to recognize it, and give it every facility for carrying on its business, and should endeavor to give it a recognised status and to impress it with a sense of responsibility.

It would probably be desirable that shop stewards should be elected by secret ballot rather than by show of hands in open meeting, in order that the most responsible men may be chosen, and not merely the loudest talkers or the most popular It seems better, also, that stewards should be elected for a certain definite term, instead of holding office, as is sometimes the case now, until they resign, leave the firm, or are actually deposed. The shop stewards committee, being primarily a workers' and trade union affair, both these points are outside the legitimate field of action of the management. The latter's willingness to recognize and work through the committee should, however, confer some right to make suggestions even in such matters as these.

The facilities granted by the management might very well include a room on the works premises in which to hold meetings, and a place to keep papers, etc. If works conditions make it difficult for the stewards to meet out of work hours, it would be well to allow them to hold committee meetings in working hours at recognised times. The management should also arrange periodic joint meetings with the committee, to enable both sides to bring forward matters of discussion.

The composition of the joint meeting between the committee of shop stewards and the management is worth considering shortly. In the conception here set forth the shop stewards committee is a complete entity by itself; it is not merely the workers' section of some larger composite committee of management and workers. The joint meetings are rather in the

nature of a standing arrangement on the part of the management for receiving deputations from the workers. For this purpose the personnel of the management section need not be fixed, but could well be varied according to the subjects to be discussed. It should always include, however, the highest executive authority concerned with the works. For the rest, there might be the various departmental managers, and, sometimes, some of the foremen As the joint meeting is not an instrument of management, taking decisions by vote, the number of the management contingent does not really matter beyond assuring that all useful points of view are represented.

Too much importance can hardly be laid on the desirability of regular joint meetings, as against *ad hoc* meetings called to discuss special grievances. According to the first plan, each side becomes used to meeting the other in the ordinary way of business, say once a month, when no special issue is at stake, and no special tension is in the air. Each can hardly fail to absorb something of the other's point of view. At a special *ad hoc* meeting, on the other hand, each side is apt to regard as its business, not the discussion of a question on its merits, but simply the making out of a case. And the fact that a meeting is called specially means that expectations of results are raised among the other workers, which make it difficult to allow the necessary time or number of meetings for the proper discussion of a complicated question.

Where women are employed in considerable numbers along with men, the question of their representation by stewards becomes important. It is as yet too early to say how this situation can best be met. If they are eligible for membership of the same trades unions as the men, the shop stewards committee might consist of representatives of both. But, considering the situation which will arise after the war, when the interests of the men and of the women will often be opposed, this solution does not seem very promising at present.

Another plan would be for a separate women's shop stewards committee to be formed, which would also meet the management periodically and be, in fact, a duplicate of the men's organization. It would probably also hold periodic joint meetings with the men's committee, to unify their policies as far as possible. This plan is somewhat cumbersome, but seems to be the only one feasible at present on account of the divergence of interest and the very different stage of development in organisation of men and women.

(b) Social Union

Some organisation for looking after recreation is in existence in many works, and if not, there is much to be said for the institution of such a body as the social union here described.

Although the purpose which calls together the members of a works committee is, of course, not the fostering of social life and amenities, there is no doubt that members of such communities do attain a fuller life and more satisfaction from their association together, when common recreation is added to common work. It may, of course, be urged against such a development of community life in industry, that it is better for people to get away from their work and to meet quite another set in their leisure times. This is no doubt true enough, but the number of people who take advantage of it is probably very much less than would be affected by social activities connected with the works. The development of such activities will, in consequence, almost certainly have more effect in spreading opportunities for fuller life than it will have in restricting them. Moreover, if the works is a large one, the differences in outlook between the various sections are perhaps quite as great as can be met with outside. For this reason the cardinal principle for such organisations is to mix up the different sections and grades, especially the works and the office departments.

The sphere of the social union includes all activities other than those affecting the work for which the firm is organised. This sphere being outside the work of the firm, the organisation should be entirely voluntary and in the hands of the workers, though the management may well provide facilities such as rooms and playing fields

Two main schemes of organisation are usual. In the first a general council is elected by the members, or, if possible, by all the employes, irrespective of department or grade. This council is responsible for the general policy of the social union. holds the funds, and undertakes the starting and supervising of smaller organisations for specific purposes. Thus, for each activity a club or society would be formed under the auspices of the council. The clubs would manage their own affairs and make their own detail arrangements.

It is most desirable that the social union should be self-supporting as far as running expenses go, and should not be subsidized by the management, as is sometimes done. A small

subscription should be paid weekly by every member, such subscription admitting them to any or all clubs. The funds should be held by the council, and spent according to the needs of the various clubs, not according to the subscriptions traceable to the membership of each This is very much better than making the finances of each club self-supporting, since it emphasizes the "community" feeling, is very simple, and enables some forms of recreation to be carried on which could not possibly be made to pay for themselves.

The second general type of social union organisation involves making the clubs themselves the basis. Each levies its own subscriptions and pays its own expenses, and the secretaries of the clubs form a council for general management. This is a less desirable arrangement because each member of the council is apt to regard himself as there only to look after the interests of his club, rather than the whole. The starting of new activities is also less easy than under the first scheme.

(*c*) *Welfare Committee*

The two organisations suggested so far, *viz.*, shop stewards committee and social union, do not cover the whole range of functions outlined in Section I. In considering how much of that field still remains to be covered, it is simplest first to mark off, mentally, the sphere of the social union, *viz.*, social activities outside working hours This leaves clear the real problem, *viz.*, all the questions affecting the work and the conditions of work of the firm. These are then conceived as falling into two groups. First there are those questions in which the interests of the workers may be opposed to those of the employer. These are concerned with such matters as wage and piece rates, penalties for spoiled work, etc. With regard to these, discussion is bound to be of the nature of bargaining, and these are the field for the shop stewards committee, negotiating by means of the periodical joint meetings with the management.

There remains, however, a second class of question, in which there is no clash of interest between employer and employed. These are concerned mainly with regulating the "community life" of the works, and include all questions of general shop conditions and amenities, and the more purely educational matters. For dealing with this group a composite

committee of management and workers, here called the Welfare Committee, is suggested.

This would consist of two parts:

1. Representatives elected by workers.
2. Nominees of the management.

The elected side might well represent the offices, both technical and clerical, as well as the works, and members would be elected by departments, no account being taken of the various grades. Where women are employed it would probably be desirable for them to elect separate representatives. If they are in departments by themselves, this would naturally happen. If the departments are mixed, the men and women of such departments would each send representatives.

The trade union or unions most concerned with the work of the firm should be represented in some fairly direct way. This might be done in either of two ways:

1. If a shop stewards committee exists, it might be asked to send one or more representatives
2. Or each of the main trade unions represented in the works might elect one or more representatives to represent their members as trade unionists.

The management section should contain, in general, the highest members of the management who concern themselves with the running of the works; it would be no use to have here men in subordinate positions, as much of the discussion would deal with matters beyond their jurisdiction. Moreover, the opportunity for the higher management to get into touch with the workers would be too important to miss. It is doubtful whether there is any need for the workers' section of the welfare committee to meet separately, though there is no objection to this if thought desirable In any case a good many questions can be handed over by the joint meeting to sub-committees for working out, and such sub-committees can, where desirable, consist entirely of workers.

It may be urged that the welfare committee is an unnecessary complication, and, either that its work could be carried out by the shop stewards committee or that the work of both could be handled by a single composite shop committee of management and workers. In practice, however, a committee of the workers, sitting separately to consider those interests that are, or appear to be, opposed, with regular deputations to the management, and a composite committee of workers and management sitting together to discuss identical interests would seem the best solution of a difficult problem.

Everything considered, therefore, there seems, in many works at least, to be a good case for the institution of both organisations, that of shop stewards and that of the welfare committee. The conditions making the latter desirable and possible would seem to be:—

1. A management sufficiently methodical and constitutional to make previous discussion of developments feasible.
2. The conditions of employment fairly stable.
3. The trades and grades included in the shop so varied and intermixed as to make representation by a committee of trade union shop stewards incomplete.

SECTION III

Summary and Conclusion of Sections I and II

Gathering together the views and suggestions made in the foregoing pages, it is felt that three separate organisations within the works are necessary to represent the workers in the highly developed and elaborate organisms which modern factories tend to become.

It is not sufficient criticism of such a proposal to say that it is too complicated. Modern industry is complicated and the attempt to introduce democratic ideas into its governance will necessarily make it more so. As already pointed out, the scheme need not be accepted in its entirety. For any trade or firm fortunate enough to operate under simpler conditions than those here assumed, only such of the suggestions need be accepted as suit its case.

The scope of the three committees is shown by the following summary:

(*a*) *Shop Stewards Committee*

SPHERE. Controversial questions where interest of employer and worker are apparently opposed.

CONSTITUTION. Consists of trade unionist workers elected by works departments.

Sits by itself, but has regular meetings with the management.

EXAMPLES OF QUESTIONS DEALT WITH:

Wage and piece rates.

The carrying out of trade union agreements

Negotiations *re* application of legislation to the workers represented, *e. g.*, dilution, exemption from recruiting.

The carrying out of national agreements *re* restoration of trade union conditions, demobilisation of war industries, etc.

Introduction of new processes.

Ventilation of grievances *re* any of above.

Etc., etc.

(*b*) *Welfare Committee*

SPHERE. "Community" questions, where there is no clash between interests of employer and worker.

CONSTITUTION. Composite committee of management and workers, with some direct representation of trade unions.

Sits as one body, with some questions relegated to sub-com-

mittees, consisting either wholly of workers or of workers and management, according to the nature of the case.

EXAMPLES OF QUESTIONS DEALT WITH:

Shop rules.
Such working conditions as starting and stopping times, meal hours, night shift arrangements, etc
Accident and sickness arrangements.
Shop comfort and hygiene.
Benevolent work such as collections for charities, hard cases of illness or accident among the workers
Education schemes:
Trade technique.
New works developments.
Statistics of works activity.
Business outlook.
Promotions—explanation and, if possible, consultation.
Ventilation of grievances *re* any of above.

(*c*) *Social Union*

SPHERE. Social amenities, mainly outside working hours.

CONSTITUTION. Includes any or all grades of management and workers.

Governing body elected by members irrespective of trade, grade, or sex.

EXAMPLES OF ACTIVITIES:

Institution of clubs for sports—cricket, football, swimming, etc.
Recreative societies—orchestral, choral, debating, etc.
Arranging social events—picnics, dances, etc.
Provision of games, library, etc., for use in meal hours.
Administration of club rooms.

(*c*) INDUSTRIAL COUNCILS

THE WHITLEY SCHEME[1]

At the outbreak of war organisation on the part of employers and workpeople existed in varying degrees in the different industries of the country. In such industries as coal mining and cotton both employers and workpeople were highly organised. In other industries the employers' associations and the trade unions were less powerful; and in some trades, if they existed at all, they exercised relatively little influence. In a number of the better organised trades the employers' associations and trade unions concerned established conciliation or arbitration boards. This joint machinery was called into existence in order to provide a medium for the discussion and settlement of industrial disputes; but the work of these bodies was carried on often in an atmosphere of disagreement, because in practice the chief work of the Boards was the settlement of industrial disputes which had reached an acute stage or at least might reasonably be expected to result in a stoppage

[1] Reconstruction Problems, Pamphlet No. 18. British Ministry of Reconstruction, March 20, 1919.

of work. Although the Boards were formed for the purpose of providing an adequate machinery for negotiating the settlement of industrial difficulties, in some cases at least they became the normal means whereby other questions affecting both employers and employees were discussed.

During the war steps have been taken in the direction of extending the number of questions on which general consultation is desirable, and the proposals of the Committee presided over by Mr J. H Whitley, M. P, the Deputy Speaker, were made with a view to establishing joint bodies for purposes of consultation and decision on matters of common interest.

This Committee, officially known as the Committee on Relations between Employers and Employed, was set up by the Cabinet Committee on Reconstruction:—

(1) To make and consider suggestions for securing a permanent improvement in the relations between employers and workmen.

(2) To recommend means for securing that industrial conditions affecting the relations between employers and workmen shall be systematically reviewed by those concerned, with a view to improving conditions in the future.

The Committee came to the unanimous conclusion that the relations of employers and employed could be improved only by the establishment of organisms for free discussion between the two parties in industry It was necessary to create an atmosphere in which men with opposing views and opposing interests might find it possible to meet. Controversial issues would then be seen in their proper proportion, and the various, perhaps less important, points on which there could be agreement might be considered For such reasons as these the Committee suggested the formation in each industry of a national *Joint Industrial Council* Each Council was to consist of representatives of Employers' Associations and representatives of Trade Unions. It was, therefore, intended that not individuals but organisations should be represented on the industrial councils, and it was clearly perceived that on such councils there would be two sides. It was never intended that the trade unions should be weakened by the admission of representatives of non-unionists; and it was not supposed that the two sides in a council would fly apart into individual groups which would obscure the difference between the employers and the employed.

On the other hand the proposals of the Whitley Committee make a very great advance on all pre-war joint organisations. The Industrial Council obviously creates an atmosphere in which the interests of all concerned in an industry might be considered without regard to possible disputes. A good council would initiate and promote development in the industry. It would be a training ground for managerial ability among the workers' representatives and an occasion for the employers to come into closer contact with their workpeople.

The complete plan of organisation proposed by the Committee is applicable only to those industries in which there is effective organisation amongst both employers and employed. Whilst under ideal conditions it might be urged that the fabric should be built up from the individual workshop, the need for some immediately practicable scheme and the existence of national trade unions and employers' associations rendered it inevitable that in general a beginning should be made by the establishment of an industrial council covering the whole industry.

Nevertheless, it is important that the discussion of the problems of an industry should be brought within the range of all those engaged in the industry There are, moreover, a number of problems which are local rather than national in character, and in any case it is clear that national agreements need to be interpreted to meet the circumstances prevailing in the different areas where an industry is carried on. The Committee, therefore, suggested that in addition to the national council for an industry, there should be district councils established on the same general plan.

With a view to the speedy settlement of minor difficulties, which if not dissipated may give rise to industrial trouble on a large scale, it was necessary to promote organisation within the individual workshop, mine, or factory. The Committee, therefore, also suggested that the organisation of an industry would not be complete unless there existed in individual firms machinery for consultation and discussion between the management and the workpeople.

It is not possible to determine in the abstract the distribution of functions between a national industrial council, the district councils, and the works committees; nor is it possible to lay down exactly what the functions of the triple organisation should cover. They may be as wide or as narrow as the organisations concerned choose to make them.

Amongst the functions agreed upon by joint industrial councils which have already come into existence are the following:—

1. To secure the largest possible measure of joint action between employers and workpeople for the development of the industry as a part of national life and for the improvement of the conditions of all engaged in that industry.

2. Regular consideration of wages, hours and working conditions in the industry as a whole.

3. The consideration of measures for regularising production and employment.

4. The consideration of the existing machinery for the settlement of differences between different parties and sections in the industry, and the establishment of machinery for this purpose where it does not already exist, with the object of securing the speedy settlement of difficulties.

5. The consideration of measures for securing the inclusion of all employers and workpeople in their respective associations.

6. The collection of statistics and information on matters appertaining to the industry.

7. The encouragement of the study of processes and design and of research, with a view to perfecting the products of the industry.

8. The provision of facilities for the full consideration and utilisation of inventions and any improvement in machinery or method, and for the adequate safeguarding of the rights of the designers of such improvements, and to secure that such improvement in method or invention shall give to each party an equitable share of the benefits financially or otherwise arising therefrom.

9. Inquiries into special problems of the industry, including the comparative study of the organisation and methods of the industry in this and other countries, and, where desirable, the publication of reports The arrangement of lectures and the holding of conferences on subjects of general interest to the industry.

10. The improvement of the health conditions obtaining in the industry, and the provision of special treatment where necessary for workers in the industry.

11. The supervision of entry into, and training for, the industry, and co-operation with the educational authorities in arranging education in all its branches for the industry.

12. The issue to the press of authoritative statements upon matters affecting the industry and of general interest to the community.

13. Representation of the needs and opinions of the industry to the Government, government departments and other authorities.

14. The consideration of any other matters that may be referred to it by the Government or any government department.

15. The consideration of the proposals for district councils and works committees put forward in the Whitley Report, having regard in each case to any such organisations as may already be in existence.

16. Co-operation with the joint industrial councils for other industries to deal with problems of common interest.

The national councils so far established have been the result of conferences between representatives of the two sides and joint committees have drawn up constitutions for the proposed councils These constitutions in the different industries vary in details, but they all follow the same general principles.

There is no uniform method for the formation of joint industrial councils, and in future the larger industries, in which there is now no such council, may evolve some organisation on the same lines but by some new method. Naturally, there can be no rules for the formation of what is a purely voluntary body. It may be presumed, however, from the experience of the past two years that councils are formed by the following method. Representative men either on the employers' or on the workers' side or on both sides agree that the organisation of their industry needs development. Any person or group of persons can, of course, apply to the Ministry of Labour for suggestions as to joint bodies in industry, and a conference of representatives of associations and trade unions in the industry is then called. Such a conference generally appoints a small sub-committee, which drafts a constitution for the National Joint Industrial Council. The representatives of the industry themselves have to decide who shall be regarded as forming part of the industry and what organisations shall be represented. When the constitution has been approved by a meeting representative of the whole industry, the Ministry of Labour is generally approached in order that the Government may give "recognition" to the Council. Recognition indicates chiefly that all government departments will communicate with the industry

through the Joint Industrial Council, and it is also an indication that the Ministry of Labour regards the Council as sufficiently representative of all the chief interests in the industry It follows that no recognition could be given unless the industry were sufficiently organised for the vast majority of employers and employed to be included in associations or trade unions

Constitution and Functions

The Council is formed by equal numbers of representatives of employers' associations and of trade unions, elected for an agreed period, generally a year. The Council appoints committees for special purposes and persons with special knowledge may be co-opted as members of these committees. If there is a chairman of the Council who is an employer, the vice-chairman is naturally a trade unionist; but some councils have preferred to elect an independent chairman, and the other officers of the Council, treasurer, secretary, etc., are arranged for in the usual manner. Voting is generally so regulated that no resolution can be regarded as carried unless it has been approved by a majority of the members present *on each side* of the Council.

We may now turn to the work which a council does. The general intention in setting up a council for any industry will be already evident from what has been said above, and the joint conferences of employers and workers who have formed industrial councils have generally defined the work of their council as follows:—The Council should have under consideration the wages, hours and working conditions in the industry It should also take measures to promote the regularising of employment and production, for by such measures the period of slackness in trade and of unemployment or under employment may be avoided. Thus, an industrial council should consider unemployment and would naturally be active not only in the maintenance of its workers during unemployment, but also in the prevention of the unemployment of large numbers. It is now known that by organisations of an industry unemployment in times of slack trade can be very much kept down The council would promote organisation also by taking measures to secure that all employers in the industry belonged to an employers' association and all workers to a trade union.

In any industry in which machinery for the settlement of

disputes does not already exist an industrial council would establish such machinery. The council would promote industrial research, secure the use of new inventions and see that full advantage from any such developments should be shared by all who are dependent on the industry for their living.

In all contact with the Government the industrial council would naturally stand for the whole industry and it would present the views of the industry to the Government

Other functions are given to some industrial councils by their founders, such as the promotion of education, the collection of statistics of wages, and average percentages of profits on turnover, but these functions are not given to all councils

This description of functions is based upon actual constitutions of councils which have been already established The work already done by councils is included under some of the subjects enumerated; for example, the industrial councils for electrical contracting, match manufacture and the silk industry, have actually agreed to a 47 hour-week.

District Councils

So far we have spoken of a national council representing the whole of an industry, but to be complete the organisation of an industry must be local as well as national. The circumstances may vary much from district to district, and therefore it is suggested that in appropriate cases district councils should set up under the National Joint Industrial Council.

The area for a district council would naturally be defined by the National Council, and the membership would be on the same plan in both. The purposes for which a district council exists are, for example, to take executive action in carrying out in the district any decisions of the National Council Hours, wages and working conditions, working rules, overtime, juvenile labour and the shift system, are all subjects on which a district council may be more closely in contact than a National Council. The district council should also be able to co-ordinate the local workshop practices.

Works Committee

The final element in the completed structure of joint consultation in industry is to be found in the works themselves.

The chief purpose in view is that the workers should be given a wider interest in and a greater responsibility for the conditions under which their work is carried on A works committee will, therefore, minimise friction and misunderstanding, and it will see that the collective agreements reached on district or national councils are enforced in the works. The workers' side of a works committee should be all members of trades unions, and they should represent the different departments within the works as well as the different sections of workers concerned Representatives should be elected for a definite term of six or twelve months, and the workers' side should have its own chairman or secretary. It is thought that from five to twelve members should be elected in accordance with the size or complexity of the works. On the side representing the management there need not be so many members, but they should include the managing directors or works manager.

The works committee usually meet at regular intervals of two or four weeks, and the meetings are held during working hours. Any grievance may be reported by any of the workers to their representative on the committee, and if their representative cannot himself reach a settlement in the matter, it may be referred to the committee itself

The functions usually given by agreement to works committees are the issue and revision of works rules, the arrangement of working hours, breaks, etc, the form in which wages are paid, the settlement of grievances, questions of "welfare" such as the provision of meals, drinking water, etc., questions of timekeeping, of bullying, etc., the training of apprentices, entertainments and sports. Thus, the workers will take the responsibility for the organisation of their working life and they will not feel the place in which they work to be so much foreign ground.

It is well known that works committees existed long before the war, and, therefore, they are not in any way the result of suggestions of the Whitley Committee A full account of their history and recent development is given in a pamphlet on works committees, published by the Ministry of Labour.[1] The Whitley Committee, however, supported the promotion of such organisation in contact with the actual working conditions in industry, and clearly the scheme for joint industrial councils could not be effective unless the actual workers in the shops or

[1] **Industrial Reports, No. 1 (Ministry of Labour, price 1d.).**

factory were given some power of presenting their views in regard to working conditions.

Councils Already Formed

When the Government accepted the policy suggested by the Whitley Committee, the Ministry of Labour was entrusted with the promotion of joint industrial councils, and up to the present date twenty-six such councils have been formed There are now joint industrial councils for the following industries:— baking, bedstead making, bobbins, chemicals, china clay, furniture, gold, silver and allied trades, hosiery, made-up leather goods, matches, paint and varnish, pottery, rubber, sawmilling, silk, tin-plate, vehicle building.

In addition to this Joint Committees are at present engaged in drafting constitutions in the following fourteen industries:—

Boot and shoe manufacture, needles and fish-hooks, newspapers, shipping, carpets, coir matting, commercial road transport, electricity supply, flour milling, non-trading municipalities, printing, roller engraving, tramways, surgical instruments.

Some one and a half million workpeople are employed in the industries in which joint industrial councils are already set up. If to that there is added the number of people employed in the industries for which joint committees are now drafting constitutions, or where constitutions have already been approved though the first meeting of the councils has not been held, we get a total of some two and a half millions. It may also be noted that preliminary negotiations have already taken place in a considerable number of other industries, and though in these cases the proceedings have not yet reached the stage at which a draft constitution is being considered, there is no doubt that in a considerable number of them councils will be established in the near future.

To the list already given there has to be added the industrial establishments of the Government. In this case negotiations are already far advanced, the Drafting Committee, composed of representatives of the trade unions and the government departments, being engaged upon the details of a constitution. It is also to be noted that an Inter-Departmental Committee has been considering the application of the Whitley Report to the administrative and clerical grades of the civil

service, and that in the near future the same methods of joint negotiations will be applied to them also

It will be seen that six of the largest trades of the country are not included in the lists given above, viz :—Shipbuilding, cotton, coal-mining, iron and steel, engineering, and railways. In each of these cases special difficulties exist, and it has been found, not unnaturally, that the larger the industry the greater the difficulties that have to be overcome, owing to the complexity of its existing organisation and the difficulty of reconciling the views of the various bodies concerned, where they have not previously been accustomed to working together. It is, therefore, to be expected that the largest industries will be the last to adapt themselves to the new scheme, and it has also to be remembered that these are the industries which are already the best organised, and therefore have the least need of the new machinery. On the other hand, none of them has at present any joint body with functions as wide or a constitution so definite as those of the joint industrial councils which have been formed. In the cotton trade, however, the Cotton Control Board, a joint committee of employers and workpeople, carried out the most difficult task of regulating the industry in the face of the great difficulties which have beset it during the War. The Cotton Control Board, though set up for a particular purpose, did in fact perform most of the functions of a joint industrial council. Since the Board ceased to be a statutory body, its membership has been extended The question of the formation of a joint industrial council for the industry is now being placed before the Board. The Shipbuilding industry also set up a national joint committee to deal with the various problems arising out of the War in the industry. Under its auspices district and yard committees were formed in certain areas. In the case of Coal-mining a start was made by the formation of joint district Committees and joint pit committees in the Lancashire area

Each drafting committee was free to select whatever form of constitution and whatever objects seemed best to it, but in order to assist them in their work the Ministry prepared a model constitution based on the suggestions made in the Whitley Report itself, which has usually served as a basis for discussion. Although the constitutions which have been drafted naturally vary considerably, the keynote of all of them is the advancement of the industry and the improvement of the conditions

of all engaged in it by means of joint action between employers and workpeople, and by their association in its government. The objects which appear in the various constitutions taken together include practically every kind of question connected with industry

It will be seen that the councils intend to undertake a thorough revision of the conditions under which the industry has hitherto been carried on and to attempt a readjustment of them in such a way as to promote greater prosperity for all concerned and a real intimacy of co-operation between employers and workpeople in its government Some instances of the work actually accomplished by joint industrial councils will serve to indicate that these aspirations are not meant to remain as merely pious hopes, but that steps are already being taken to translate them into practice.

Work Done by Councils

The Baking Industrial Council has set up several district councils; it has made a working agreement giving improved conditions and a considerable advance in wages to the operatives in the trade. The Industrial Council for Building has appointed a committee to report on scientific management and reduction of costs, and has made reports on interrupted apprenticeships. At the request of the Home Office the Council has appointed a committee to deal with the prevention of accidents.

The Industrial Council for Chemicals has made arrangements for dealing with disputes, including a panel of arbitrators who act in rotation. The China Clay Council has arrived at a wages agreement. The Council for Electrical Contracting has fixed a 47-hour working week, with pay on the basis of a 53-hour week. It has decided to call a meeting of non-unionists employed by associated firms to induce them to join unions. The Furniture Industrial Council has proposed a scheme for a conciliation board which has received the approval of the constituent associations on the Council It has successfully mediated in local disputes, settled rates for upholsterers in the London area, and agreed on ten district councils, of which one has been already set up.

The Hosiery Council has increased the bonus for operatives, and the Scottish Section has reached an agreement on hours. The Council for Matches has arranged a 47-hour week

without reduction in wages; it has set up a London District Committee and Works Committee in every firm but one. The Pottery Council has circulated a memorandum to the trade on health conditions. The Rubber Council has agreed on a 47-hour week, payment to be made on the basis of a 54-hour week or whatever the working hours were in the district. The Council for Saw Milling has agreed on a 47-hour week, and the Council for Silk has agreed on a 49-hour week, with no reduction of time or piece rates. The Council for Vehicle Building has agreed on a national minimum wage of 1s. 6d. an hour for skilled men, with corresponding rates for semi-skilled men and labourers; it has also agreed on a 47-hour week without reduction in wages except in the case of firms working more than 54 hours a week.

Many other problems are under discussion, which will probably result in action being taken: and, obviously, the record of the work done must be considered with due regard to the fact that the Councils have only recently come into existence, while the circumstances of war-time made it difficult to take action on some issues.

General Principles

It will be understood from what has been already said that an industrial council is not formed by the State or the Government. It is a purely voluntary body and it contains no representatives of the Government. The persons connected in any industry are quite free to choose whether or not they will form an industrial council, and no pressure is needed by the Government on any industry. The functions of the Ministry of Labour in this regard are confined to making suggestions and giving general assistance to those who desire to form Industrial Councils and for this purpose the Ministry organises conferences and issues relevant material. An official of the Ministry of Labour acts in liaison with every industrial council which has been formed.

The Government is not, of course, uninterested in the formation of these councils. Industry is becoming every day a more urgent problem, and it is more and more necessary for the Government of the day to know the view of those immediately concerned in the several trades of the country. An industrial council is, therefore, useful to the Government in providing

one voice for the industry concerned. Such a council can present the views of all those employed in the industry, and it can suggest or promote any further legislation which may be necessary.

On the other hand if the Government desires anything done by an industry, an industrial council may be the best instrument through which it may be done. Thus, the resettlement of workers and the regularisation of employment may be referred by the Government to industrial councils.

The whole scheme is flexible. It is not a rigid programme for every industry and it is capable of endless variations to suit particular circumstances. There are many problems which arise when it is desired to establish an industrial council; for example, the problem of the extent and boundaries of an industry. There are many trades which seem to belong to more than one industry, and some industries, such as engineering, seem to be too complex to be treated as a single industry. Again, what in the abstract appears to be one industry may have very distinct branches in different parts of the country, and generally the organisation of employers' associations and of trades unions cuts across the boundaries of many industries. All these facts necessitate adjustment and compromise; the conditions and circumstances affecting an industry and especially the state of organisation among employers and workers must be fully investigated before any application can be made of the ideas of the Whitley Committee and clearly some industries may not be suitable for joint industrial councils. On the other hand the idea of joint discussion of non-controversial issues may affect many trades and industries in which no council is set up.

Further problems arise as to the position of clerical and supervisory staffs, the rights of a district council in regard to the functions of the national council, the treatment of employers who are not members of any association, the interests of non-unionists in the workshops, and many other such points, But all these problems can be solved by due consideration of particular circumstances; and indeed experience has already proved what can be done.

Councils and Trade Boards

Joint industrial councils differ in many important respects

from such bodies as trade boards: their relation and their differences are fully explained in the pamphlet on the subject published by the Ministry of Labour (Industrial Reports, No 3, Industrial Councils and Trade Boards). Here it is only necessary to emphasise some of the chief points of difference. A trade board is a statutory body whose decisions are made binding by law; but an industrial council is a voluntary body with no statutory powers. A trade board is set up by the Government in the case of trades which are not completely organised and in which the wages appear to be exceptionally low. It contains members appointed by the Government, but all members of an industrial council are elected by associations in the industry. The subjects usually dealt with by an industrial council are wider than those usually dealt with by a trade board; and a trade board usually represents a section rather than the whole of an industry. The new Trade Boards Act of 1918, however, adds considerably to the possible functions of a trade board, and makes it possible to increase the number of trade boards more rapidly than under the old system.

Interim Industrial Reconstruction Committees

In many industries there has been delay in setting up industrial councils. The circumstances of war-time made it difficult for some industries to organise rapidly; and yet it was essential that these industries should have some joint bodies to speak for them and to act within such industries on the problems of resettlement and reconstruction.

The following is a list of industries in which interim industrial reconstruction committees have been formed since March 22nd, 1918:—Artificial stone, basket-making, blacksmiths and farriers, brass and copper (advisory), brush-making, catering, clay industries, cocoa, chocolate, sugar, confectionery and jam, cooperage, cutlery, envelopes and manufactured stationery, fertilisers (including sections for basic slag, sulphate of ammonia and fish guano), furniture removing, gas mantles, glass, gloves, lead manufactures, leather production, lock, safe and latch, music trades, non-ferrous mines, optical instruments, packing, paper-making, patent fuel, petroleum lamps, polish (boot and floor), quarrying, railway carriage and wagon building, sugar refining, wholesale clothing (women's trade, light section), wire drawing, zinc and spelter. These bodies have done much work

during their short existence, and they have formed the initial movement for future joint industrial councils.

The future of the whole organisation of industry is still undecided. There may be a very great and important development of the ideas and suggestions expressed in the reports of the Whitley Committee, but that is a matter of prophecy. What has been described in this pamphlet is historical fact, and it is sufficient to indicate how joint consultation between employers and workers may promote the best interest of all concerned.

FUNCTIONS AND CONSTITUTION OF DISTRICT COUNCILS AND OF WORKS COMMITTEES[1]

District Councils

The Whitley report states that:

> The National Joint Industrial Council should not be regarded as complete in itself: What is needed is a triple organization—in the workshops, the districts, and nationally. Moreover, it is essential that the organization at each of these stages should proceed on a common principle, and that the greatest measure of common action between them should be secured. With this end in view, we are of opinion that the following proposal should be laid before the National Joint Industrial Councils. That district councils representative of the trade-unions and of employers' associations in the industry should be created or developed out of the existing machinery for negotiation in the various trades.

It is clear that the Whitley report contemplates wherever possible that the joint industrial council should be established in the first instance, and that this national council should as soon as possible consider the question of the formation of district councils. In almost all the constitutions of joint councils hitherto submitted to the Minister of Labor, the following appears among the more specific objects of the joint industrial council:

> The consideration of the proposal for district councils as put forward in the Whitley report, having regard in each case to any such organization as may already be in existence.

At the request of several of the joint industrial councils already formed, the Ministry of Labor has drawn up the following memorandum on the constitution and functions of district councils, which is to be regarded as putting forward not hard-and-fast rules, but suggestions which may serve as a basis for discussion when the question of district councils is being considered by joint industrial councils. The underlying principle

[1] From Industrial Reports. No. 4. British Ministry of Labour, January, 1919.

of the Whitley report is that the constitution and functions not only of the joint industrial council but also of the district councils should be left to be determined by the industries themselves in accordance with their special conditions and circumstances.

A.—Functions of District Councils

The main functions of district councils would be as follows:

1. To consider any matters that may be referred to them by the National Joint Industrial Council, and to take executive action within their district in connection with decisions arrived at and matters deputed to them by it.

2. To make recommendations to the National Joint Industrial Council.

3. To consider any matters of interest to their district, including matters referred to them by works committees, and to take executive action with regard to matters that affect only their particular district, subject to the right of the national council to veto any such action if it be found to involve the interests of other districts.

The following may be regarded as among the more specific functions falling under this head (No. 3):

(*a*) The regular consideration of hours, wages, and working conditions, including the codification, unification, and amendment of working rules relating to holidays, juvenile labor, overtime, the shift system, etc (N. B.—Special attention is called to the fact that no executive action should be taken upon these matters if such action is likely to involve the interests of other districts. In any cases of doubt, the district council should consult the national council before taking action.)

(*b*) The coordination of local workshop practice.

(*c*) General district matters relating to welfare work.

(*d*) The provision of facilities for the full consideration and utilization in inventions, and any improvement in machinery or method, and for the adequate safeguarding of the rights of the designers of such employments, and to secure that such improvement or invention shall give to each party an equitable share of the benefits (financially or otherwise) arising therefrom.

(*e*) The improvement of health conditions obtaining in

the industry and the provision of special treatment, where necessary, for workers in the industry.

(*f*) The supervision of entry into, and training for, the industry and co-operation with the educational authorities in arranging education in all its branches for the industry.

(*g*) The arrangement of lectures and the holding of conferences in the district on subjects of general interest to the industry.

4. Co-operation with the district councils for other industries to deal with problems of common interest.

5. Where no adequate machinery exists for the settlement of differences between different parties and sections of the industry, to consider any such differences as can not be settled within an individual factory or workshop, and to refer to the national council any such matters upon which the district council fails to come to a decision.

B.—Constitution of District Councils

1. *Areas of district councils.*—It would clearly be the work of the National Joint Industrial Council in consultation with the existing local associations to define the suitable areas to be covered by district councils. It is suggested that a district council should not cover a larger area than is compatible with decentralized action.

2. *Membership.*—The council shall consist of ———— members, appointed as to one-half by associations of employers and as to the other half by trade-unions. Members of the national council shall be ex officio members of the district council in their area.

Associations of employers.	*No. of representatives.*
(1)	
(2)	
(3)	
&c.	————
Total	————
Trade-unions.	
(1)	
(2)	
(3)	
&c.	————
Total	————

(N. B.—When the question of membership is under consideration the national council will have to consider carefully the question of linking up district councils with works committees, if and when such exist. Provision might be made in the constitution for a certain proportion of members of the district council to be representatives elected from a conference of works committees if and when a sufficient number of works committees are set up within the area of the district council. The national council should also consider the advisability of linking up the district councils with the local advisory committees appointed by the Ministry of Labor to advise the local employment exchanges, especially on matters connected with demobilization.)

3 *Reappointment.*—The representatives of the said associations and trade-unions shall retire annually and shall be eligible for reappointment by their respective associations and unions. Casual vacancies shall be filled by the association concerned, which shall appoint a member to sit until the end of the current year.

4. *Committees.*—The district council may delegate special powers to any committee it appoints. The reports of all committees shall be submitted to the district council for confirmation, except where special powers have been delegated to the committee, and the district council shall have power to appoint on committees, or to allow committees to add such persons of special knowledge, not being members of the council, as may serve the special purposes of the district council.

5. *Officers*—It might be advisable under this head to follow the method adopted in the constitution of the corresponding National Joint Industrial Council.

6. *Meetings of the district council.*—The ordinary meetings of the district council shall be held as often as necessary and not less than once a quarter. The annual meeting shall be held at least 14 days before the annual meeting of the National Joint Industrial Council A special meeting of the council shall be called within ——— days of the receipt of a requisition from one-third of the members of the council. The matters to be discussed at such meetings shall be stated upon the notice summoning the meeting.

7. *Voting.*—The voting, both in council and in the committees, shall be by show of hands or otherwise, as the district council may determine. No resolution shall be regarded as

carried unless it has been approved by a majority of members present on each side of the district council.

8. *Quorum.*—The quorum shall be ——— members on each side of the council.

9. *Finance.*—It might be advisable to adopt the method laid down in the constitution of the corresponding National Joint Industrial Council.

10. *Minutes.*—Copies of the minutes of all meetings of district councils shall be forwarded to the joint secretaries of the national council within one week of the meeting.

Note

The relation of district councils to the National Joint Industrial Council and to the Government.

The functions and constitution of district councils shall be submitted to the national council for their approval, and copies of such constitutions and the membership of the various district councils should be sent by the National Joint Industrial Council to the Ministry of Labor.

Any communications addressed to Government departments by district councils must not be sent direct, but through the national industrial council.

Works Committees

The differing circumstances of different industries make it impossible to devise any scheme suitable to every industry. Again, the type of works committee suitable will vary with the size of the firm and the form taken by organization among the employees. In preparing a scheme, therefore, the machinery outlined in the following suggestions may require to be adapted in greater or less degree if the general objects for which works committees are recommended are to be attained. These general objects are:

1. That the workpeople should be given a wider interest in, and greater responsibility for, the conditions under which their work is performed.

2. That the regulations contained in collective agreements drawn up by district and national authorities be enforced in the works.

3. That friction and misunderstanding be prevented so far as possible.

The attainment of these objects demands the establishment of recognized means for consultation between management and workpeople. At the same time anything that is done—whether or not it is embodied in the works rules drawn up by the works committee—must be consistent with the principles of the collective agreements accepted by the district and national authorities. For this reason steps should be taken to secure the closest possible connection between the works committee and the district and national councils.

Constitution

(1) The works joint committee shall be composed of (*a*) representatives of the workpeople and (*b*) representatives of the management.

In considering questions of membership it will be found more convenient to treat (*a*) and (*b*) separately.

(*a*) *Workers side of joint committee.*

(i) The number of representatives will vary with the size and the complexity of the particular works. Some number from 5 to 12 is suggested as likely to suit most circumstances.

(ii) The members of the workers side should be trade-union representatives.

The national and district councils are based solely upon the representation of organizations In the case of the works, in order to secure cohesion of policy as between the works committee and the district and national councils, it is advisable that the works committee should normally be based on a recognition of the workpeople's organizations.

But, in particular factories where the workmen are not strongly organized or where the functions of the works committee are such as to require the presence of workers who are not organized, it may be found necessary to depart from the principle laid down above. In these circumstances, however, the shop stewards, or other trade-union representatives in the works should be consulted on all questions affecting district or national agreements. Any deviation from the general scheme should be adopted only after approval by the industrial council on a consideration of the merits of the case.

(iii) The representation should normally be on the basis

of departments, due allowance being made for the various sections of workers engaged in any department.

In order that this may not sometimes necessitate a committee of unwieldly size, it is suggested that for large or complex works the workers' side of the joint committee should be appointed by and from a larger body of workers' representatives elected from the various departments.

(iv) The representatives should be appointed for a definite term of office—6 or at most 12 months—and should be eligible for reelection.

(v) The election should be by ballot or by departmental (or sectional) meetings especially convened for the purpose.

(vi) The workers' side should appoint a chairman and a secretary.

(vii) On any representative leaving the employment of the firm or resigning his position as member a successor shall be appointed in the ordinary way by the department or section concerned, to hold office for the remainder of the term.

(*b*) *Management side of joint committee.*

(i) Certain members of the managerial staff should form a constant nucleus of the management side. (See 4 below.)

(ii) The number required for (i) will vary, but two, three, or four is suggested as a suitable number.

To have an equal number of members on the two sides would in most works be impracticable, and, in view of the suggested procedure, is unnecessary. (See, in particular, paragraph (11) under Procedure below.)

(iii) This number should be made up of such individuals as a managing director, the works manager, and, where there is such an official, the labor or welfare superintendent.

(2) The joint committee will be composed of the individuals in (*a*) (i) and (*b*) (i) coming together in joint meeting.

(3) The joint committee should appoint a chairman and a vice chairman (one from each side). Each side should appoint its own secretary.

(4) Either side shall have the right to add to its number representatives of the particular departments or sections of departments affected by a question under discussion and not directly represented on the committee. The addition shall be made only for the period during which the question affecting the particular departments or sections of departments is before the committee.

(5) The recognized district official of any trade-union or employers' association concerned may attend any meeting in an advisory capacity.

NOTE (1).—It may be found necessary to leave certain questions to be settled not by the whole works committee, but by a subcommittee of it on which the workers' representatives are drawn only from the particular department or section directly concerned, for example, a piecework question in one department of a works which is mainly on time work. The size of the works, also, is a factor which must be taken into account in considering the need for subcommittees. In some instances departmental subcommittees and in others functional subcommittees (*e. g.*, a "safety" committee or a welfare committee) may best suit the circumstances. Even where definite subcommittees are not arranged for, work of the same kind as these would perform may often be carried out by consultation between the representatives of the management and the secretary of the workers' side along with the representatives of a department

NOTE (2).—In large works it will probably be found desirable to establish departmental committees, with a works committee representative of all the departments chosen from the departmental committees. In such cases, the functions of the departmental committees will be confined to matters affecting the department only, whilst the works committee will consider questions affecting more than one department or the whole works. The workers' side of a departmental committee should be so elected as to give representation to each of the various sections of workers engaged in the department.

Procedure

(1) Meetings of the joint committee shall be held at regular intervals of { two / four } weeks. The meetings shall be held during working hours.

(2) Special meetings of the joint committee shall be called at ——— hours' notice on a request on behalf of one side by its secretary to the secretary of the other side.

(3) The agenda of business shall be submitted by the secretaries to each member of the committees at least ——— hours before a meeting, except in the case of special meetings.

(4) No business other than that appearing on the agenda shall be transacted at any meeting unless both sides agree to its introduction.

(5) When an individual workman desires to bring any question before the committee he should report to his departmental or sectional representative, who in the case of grievances shall endeavor to reach a settlement. Failing a settlement, the representative shall inform the workers' secretary. The latter shall endeavor to arrange a settlement. Failing a settlement, the question shall come before the joint committee.

(6) In the course of his duties the secretary of the workers' side should have the right to enter any department in the works, and the representative of any department or section the right to enter the department in which the secretary is at work.

(7) Facilities should be provided for meetings of the workers' side of the committee in the works, normally after working hours or during meal hours

(8) The workers' representatives should be paid at their ordinary rate for time spent at meetings of the joint committee.

(9) Duplicate books of minutes should be kept, one by the secretary of each side.

(10) Copies of the minutes of all meetings of the joint committee must be sent to the secretaries of the district council within seven days of the date of meeting.

(11) Decisions shall be arrived at only by agreement between the two sides.

(12) In the event of any matter arising which the committee can not agree upon, the officials of the trade-union or unions concerned shall negotiate with the firm or, if desired, with the officials of the employers' association. The question may therefore be referred by either side to the district council.

(13) The works committee shall not have any power to come to an agreement inconsistent with the powers or decisions of the district or national councils or with any agreement between a trade-union and the employers' association. Further, any agreement come to by a works committee may at any time be superseded by the district or national council or by agreement between a trade-union and the employers' association.

Functions

The list of functions outlined below is not meant to be

exhaustive. Almost every industry has rules or customs which arise from the particular conditions under which the work of the industry is carried on (*e g.*, the payment of "dirty money," provision of tools, allowances for working away from the works or from home, allowances on standard district piece prices for deficiencies in material or machinery, etc.). In a well-regulated industry many such matters will be subject to district or national agreements, and the powers of a works committee will be limited in the same manner as they will be in regard to the more general questions of district or national agreement (standard rates, piece prices, normal hours, overtime, etc.) No attempt has been made to include such questions as arise only in some industries, for which each national council concerned will have to decide upon a method of regulation, including the powers to be vested in works committees.

In regard to any function, the powers of a works committee will be controlled in accordance with paragraph (13) under procedure.

(1) The issue and revision of works rules.

(2) The distribution of working hours, breaks, time recording, etc.

(3) The payment of wages (time, form of pay ticket, etc.), explanation of methods of payment, the adjustment of piece prices, subject to district or national agreements, records of piece prices, deductions, etc.

(4) The settlement of grievances

(5) Holiday arrangements.

(6) Questions of physical welfare (provision of meals, drinking water, lavatories, and washing accommodations, cloakrooms, ventilation, heating and sanitation, accidents, safety appliances, first aid, ambulance, etc.)

(7) Questions of discipline and conduct as between management and workpeople (malingering, bullying, timekeeping, publicity in regard to rules, supervision of notice boards, etc.).

(8) Terms of engagement of workpeople.

(9) The training of apprentices and young persons.

(10) Technical library, lectures on the technical and social aspects of the industry.

(11) Suggestions of improvements in method and organization of work, the testing of suggestions.

(12) Investigation of circumstances tending to reduce effi-

ciency or in any way to interfere with the satisfactory working of the factory.

(13) Collections (for clubs, charities, etc.).

(14) Entertainments and sports.

(15) The provision of facilities for the workers' side of the joint committee (or of a departmental committee, if any) to conduct its own work.

JOINT INDUSTRIAL COUNCILS AND TRADE BOARDS[1]

(*a*) *Joint Industrial Councils*

By far the most important development of industrial organisation since the appearance of the first edition of this Memorandum has been the publication of the reports of the Reconstruction Sub-Committee on relations between employers and employed, presided over by the Right Hon. J. H. Whitley, M.P., and the formation of joint standing industrial councils in several important industries, on the lines advocated by that Committee. In view of the importance of the "Whitley Scheme," and its strong resemblance to the proposals contained in this Memorandum, it seems desirable to give some account of the reports themselves and of the action which has been taken to give effect to them.

The terms of reference to the Whitley Committee were:—

(1) To make and consider suggestions for securing a permanent improvement in the relations between employers and workmen.

(2) To recommend means for securing that industrial conditions affecting the relations between employers and workmen shall be systematically reviewed by those concerned, with a view to improving conditions in the future.

In March, 1917, the Committee submitted an Interim Report, recommending the establishment in all well-organised trades of joint standing industrial councils, representative of employers and employed, and in July of that year a circular letter was addressed by the Ministry of Labour to all the principal employers' associations and trade unions, asking for their

[1] From Memorandum on the Industrial Situation After the War. Garton Foundation Report. Revised Ed. London, 1919.

views on the Report. By October, 1917, so many favourable replies had been received to this letter that the War Cabinet decided to adopt the Report as part of its reconstruction policy and instructed the Ministry of Labour to afford assistance and advice, where desired, in the formation of joint industrial councils. In October, 1917, a "Second Report on Joint Standing Industrial Councils" was presented, further elaborating the scheme.

The machinery suggested by the Whitley Reports is based on the principle of devolution. The Committee recommended that in addition to the national councils, representing the whole industry, there should be created joint district councils and works committees, subsidiary to the national councils. The district councils would deal with questions or aspects of questions having a local character; the works committees would deal with all questions domestic to a particular establishment.

It is an essential feature of the scheme that the constitution of the national and district councils, of the works committees, and of all sub-committees of any of these bodies, shall be based upon the principle of equal representation and status of employers and employed. A typical council will thus consist of an equal number of representatives appointed by the employers' associations and the trade unions, the chairman being usually appointed alternately from the employers' and the workers' representatives. The exact lines on which works committees are formed will vary according to the conditions of the various industries, but in each case the lines adopted will represent the result of agreement between the employers' associations and the trade unions. The method of voting in each case is left to be agreed by the parties concerned. In the councils hitherto formed it has usually been decided that before a resolution can be carried it must be approved by a majority vote of both the employers' and the workers' representatives, voting separately. This method has the advantage of avoiding any suspicion that either party might gain control of the council for its own ends by talking over one or two representatives of the other side. It has the further advantage that this absence of suspicion would probably lead to fuller and more frank discussion; as neither employers' nor workers' representatives would hesitate to express their own views upon the merits of the case when they knew that they could only carry their opinions into effect by securing a majority of both sides, and

that no stigma of treachery could attach to the expression of minority views. On the other hand, it has been suggested that this method has the appearance of emphasising a merely sectional line of cleavage, and that a sufficient guarantee of confidence would be secured by stipulating that the number of representatives of labour and management voting on any question should always be equal, whatever the numbers present. This is, however, a question which each industry will naturally settle for itself in the light of its own special circumstances and requirements. In the same way each industry will settle for itself whether the representatives of management and labour are to be directly appointed by the employers' associations and trade unions, selected by the district councils, or elected by ballot, each electoral district returning one representative of management and one of labour.

Whatever methods of representation and voting be adopted, it seems to be essential that special consideration should be given to the position of foreman and others occupying similar posts. These men are sometimes members of the unions and sometimes not. In some cases they have their own unions Their functions partake partly of those specially belonging to management, partly of those belonging to labour Their position in the works is one of great importance and they may become either a substantial aid or a serious obstacle to progress. The steps taken to ensure their representation will vary in each industry, but it would be a very serious weakness in the scheme if they were left out. Moreover, their presence as "crossbench members" might be of considerable assistance in avoiding a purely sectional line of cleavage and substituting for it a new line based on principles and opinion

The Ministry of Labour are willing to afford to all national councils recognised by the Ministry, the assistance of a representative appointed by them to act as a liaison officer between the council and the various government departments. The acceptance of such assistance is purely voluntary, and a nominee of the Ministry will only be appointed at the request of the Council. A majority of the councils hitherto formed have, however, made this request. The nominee of the Ministry has no voting power, but acts simply as an intermediary between the council and the departments.

With regard to the scope of the councils, the Ministry of

Labour has made the following suggestions with regard to subjects to be considered by the councils:

(1) Means to secure the largest possible measure of joint action between employers and workpeople for the development of the industry as a part of national life and for the improvement of the conditions of all engaged in the industry.

(2) Regular consideration of wages, hours, and working conditions in the industry as a whole.

(3) The consideration of measures for regularising production and employment

(4) The consideration of the existing machinery for the settlement of differences between different parties and sections in the industry, and the establishment of machinery for this purpose where it does not already exist, with the object of securing the speedy settlement of difficulties.

(5) The collection of statistics and information on matters appertaining to the industry.

(6) The encouragement of the study of processes and design and of research, with a view to perfecting the products of the industry.

(7) The provision of facilities for the full consideration and utilisation of inventions and any improvement in machinery or method, and for the adequate safeguarding of the rights of the designers of such improvements, and to secure that such improvement in method or invention shall give to each party an equitable share of the benefits financially or otherwise arising therefrom.

(8) Inquiries into special problems of the industry, including the comparative study of the organisation and methods of the industry in this and other countries, and, where desirable, the publication of reports

(9) The improvement of the health conditions obtaining in the industry, and the provision of special treatment where necessary for workers in the industry.

(10) The supervision of entry into, and training for, the industry, and co-operation with the educational authorities in arranging education in all its branches for the industry.

(11) The issue to the press of authoritative statements upon

matters affecting the industry of general interest to the community.

(12) Representation of the needs and opinions of the industry to the Government, government departments, and other authorities.

(13) The consideration of any other matters that may be referred to it by the Government or any government department.

(14) The consideration of the proposals for district councils and works committees, put forward in the Whitley Report, having regard in each case to any such organisations as may already be in existence

The following have also been included among the functions of the Council in some of the provisional constitutions:

(i) The consideration of measures for securing the inclusion of all employers and workpeople in their respective associations.

(ii) The arrangement of lectures and the holding of conferences on subjects of general interest to the industry.

(iii) Co-operation with the joint industrial councils for other industries to deal with problems of common interest.

Demobilisation and resettlement, the training of disabled soldiers and sailors, the position of returning apprentices, the priority of release of pivotal men from the army and navy, education, and the rationing of raw materials, are among the subjects which have already been taken into consideration by councils formed under this scheme.

It is the intention of the Government to treat a council which is recognised by the Ministry of Labour, as the standing consultative committee to the Government, and the normal channel through which it will seek the advice of those engaged in the industry.

In this scheme of industrial organisation there are three points which seem to call for special emphasis.

In the first place, the scheme goes a long way towards securing industrial autonomy. It is true that the decisions of a national industrial Council will have no statutory force; but inasmuch as they will represent the considered opinion of the employers' associations and the trade unions, they will, in practice, be binding upon the industry as a whole, and will be capable of enforcement It will, therefore, be possible for the industry itself to deal effectively with its own problems, thus

relieving the congestion of the Parliamentary machine, and ensuring the consideration of industrial questions by those who are intimately acquainted with both the business and the human side of industry itself. At the same time the relations between the industrial council and the Government will ensure full weight being given to the opinions of those engaged in the industry, in the drafting of any legislation affecting their interests. It will also enable the Government to bring to the consideration of the Council, for the purpose of guiding their decisions, considerations of national welfare—social or economic —which might possibly be overlooked by a purely industrial body.

In the second place, the machinery is de-centralized and elastic. The provision for district councils and works committees is of the utmost importance, inasmuch as it ensures the direct discussion and settlement of local and domestic questions by those whom they immediately concern This has two very important results. On the one hand it will avoid delay in the consideration of such questions and prevent the machinery of the national council from being clogged by an accumulation of detail work On the other hand, it will give to the workers in any particular area or workshop that direct participation in the control of conditions immediately affecting their daily life, which is the essential foundation of intelligent and self-respecting citizenship

The relations between the national councils, the district councils, and the works committees will, of course, be close. In addition to dealing with local or domestic questions, it will be competent for a works committee to send up suggestions affecting the industry as a whole to the district council, which, in its turn, would pass them on for consideration to the national council, which would either take action thereon itself or, if necessary, request the Government to do so. In the same way, any measure proposed by the national council or suggested to the national council by the Government could be referred for observations to the district councils and works committees. The scheme thus combines, to a very great extent, the advantages of centralised organisation and of democratic devolution, while it affords also the amplest opportunity for the expression of minority views

Moreover, it is obvious that the possibilities of future development are very wide. It is true that the scheme for the

establishment of joint industrial councils does not involve any immediate fundamental change in the existing industrial system, and does not indicate any preconceived new system as the ultimate goal of progress. They do, however, provide a simple and elastic machinery by which all the parties to any industry can be brought together for constructive co-operation in the development of individual concerns and of the industry as a whole. They set no limit to the transformation which may eventually be effected; but they ensure that new methods of industrial organisation can be tested by experiment, and adopted or rejected in accordance with the teaching of experience. Proposals can be thoroughly thrashed out and considered in the light of the knowledge and ideas brought to bear upon them by all sides before they are put into actual practice; and in the meantime, the ordinary work of the councils and committees will create an atmosphere of broader sympathies and clearer understanding in which the discussion of new issues can be carried on with a better prospect of general agreement and wise decision. On these lines of unfettered, organic development, based on experience and actuated by a new spirit of co-operation and public service, it should be possible to obtain an industrial order satisfying the universal desire for a fuller, happier and more stable development of national and individual life. There is a great advantage in so framing our immediate programme that it shall neither involve the dangers of a step in the dark, nor shut the door on future development, nor confine the possibilities of progress to any single channel.

In the third place—and this is the most important point of all—the object of the councils is not merely to settle or even to avert disputes, but to secure constructive co-operation in the improvement of Industry on its social as well as on its economic side. This purpose is manifest in the suggestions for the agenda of the councils above quoted and is implied throughout the reports of the Whitley Committee. But it is nowhere so well expressed as in the proposals for the Builders' National Industrial Parliament, which was already in process of formation at the time when the first Whitley Report appeared, and was based to some extent upon the suggestions contained in this Memorandum. In these proposals, which were unanimously accepted by both the trade unions and the employers' federation, the object of the Builders' Parliament is said to be: "To promote the continuous and progressive improvement of the

industry, to realise its organic unity as a great public service, and to advance the well-being and status of all connected with it." . . . "The spectacle of organised management and labour uniting their constructive energies upon a great programme of reorganisation and advance might transform the whole atmosphere of our industrial life. . . . It would raise the whole status of the industry and give to its members a new pride in their work as a splendid public service. It would tend to break down the barriers that have so long confined and impoverished the national life and would promote the development of a real team spirit."

In this spirit the Builders' Parliament rejects altogether questions of arbitration and conciliation, for which machinery already exists in the industry, and includes in its Agenda not only such matters as the regularisation of wages, technical training, and research, but also industrial control and status of labour, and "closer association between commercial and æsthetic requirements." With the object of facilitating experiment and progress, they suggest the development of two codes—a compulsory code, binding upon all members of the industry and dealing with agreed minimum standards, and a voluntary code "built up from the recommendations of the improvements committee for the voluntary, and perhaps experimental, adoption of progressive employers." The last suggestion appears to be well worth consideration by other industrial councils, as it would be of great assistance in allowing action to be taken a little in advance of that general level of agreement required for a compulsory code.

It is obvious that the possibilities of the Whitley Councils will depend upon the spirit in which they are created. If they are regarded merely as machinery for the settlement of disputes, or even as a means of increasing industrial efficiency, with the object of obtaining a larger sum for distribution as wages and profits, they will not take us very far. If, on the other hand, they are inspired by a genuine desire to raise the whole level of industrial effort—to enable industry to perform better service to the community, and to render the work of each man engaged in it a more satisfactory expression of his powers and personality—they may effect nothing less than a transformation of industrial and of national life. They will do little if the representatives of the employers' associations and the trade unions meet as the exponents of separate inter-

ests with no other object than that of effecting a compromise between their competing claims. They will do much if the members of the councils and committees learn to regard themselves as representatives of industry as a whole, concerned with both its economic and its human side and ready to follow the path of progress in whatever direction it may lead.

It would be unwise to expect too much at the start. Much of the early work of the councils must necessarily be concerned with questions of constitution and machinery, and even when these preliminary questions have been settled, there are many initial difficulties to be overcome and many old prejudices to be laid aside before the councils can develop their maximum utility. It is of the utmost importance that neither in the formation of councils nor in their activities should any attempt be made to force the pace. It is essential to the success of the scheme that it should depend upon the voluntary initiative of all concerned. The formation of a council under pressure and without the full and free approval of the employers' associations and the trade unions would inevitably frustrate the very purposes for which the councils are formed. On the other hand, the problems of demobilisation and the return to peace conditions supply an irresistible argument for the formation of councils in all industries which are sufficiently organised to permit of their establishment, and the Ministry of Labour deserves the thanks of the whole community for its proved willingness to render advice and assistance in this respect. Further, the immediate problems arising from the return to peace conditions will afford ample opportunity for the councils to prove their usefulness, and will enable both parties to the scheme to familiarise themselves with its working and to obtain that clearer understanding of each other's position which is essential to its success.

While the decision of the Ministry of Labour to treat recognised national councils as the permanent channel of communication with the industries adds greatly to the value of the councils, it would be a mistake to lay too much emphasis on this official relationship. The great advantage of the scheme is the opportunity offered to industry to work out its own salvation, in the light of its own special knowledge.

At the same time it must be recognised that there is a certain danger in this industrial autonomy. The possibility of employers and employed in any industry combining to exploit

consumers or to put pressure upon the Government for the promotion of sectional interests must not be overlooked. It is true that the Government has the power of refusing to give legislative sanction to the proposals of the councils; but this hardly meets the whole difficulty. It seems inevitable that if joint industrial councils become common, some central organisation, representative of all important industries, should be created for the purpose of co-ordinating the action of the various councils and adjusting the competing claims of overlapping or inter-connected industries. In such case it will be necessary very carefully to consider and define the powers of such central organisation and its relation to Parliament, in order to guard against the possibility of steps being taken by this functional body or by the industrial councils, which might prove detrimental to the interests of the general public, or to national life in its social aspects.

(*b*) *Trade Boards*

It is obvious that the machinery above described can only be applied successfully in the case of industries which are already well organised and in which organisation has reached an approximately equal level of development among the employers and the workers. Unless this condition is fulfilled the councils cannot be truly representative, nor can the two parties meet on an equal footing. For this reason the Ministry of Labour will treat as "recognised" councils to be consulted on all questions affecting the industry, only those councils which are set up in trades already well organised on both sides.

In the case of industries in which organisation is non-existent, imperfectly developed, or unequal, the Whitley Committee recommended an extension of the system of trade boards. The suggestion was originally made that in cases where organisation, although inadequate, was already in existence, trade boards should be combined with a modified form of joint industrial councils; but this proposal has now been abandoned. It is still considered possible that the establishment of a trade board, in addition to a joint industrial council, may be necessary in well-organised but badly paid industries; but in general the functions of trade boards will be restricted to those industries in which organisation is not sufficiently developed to justify "recognition" of an industrial council.

The recommendations of the Whitley Committee with regard to trade boards have been given effect by the Trade Boards Act, 1918. The scope of the trade boards with regard to wages and piece-rates was described in that paragraph: it remains to describe their constitution and their other functions.

A Trade Board is a statutory body constituted in accordance with regulations made in pursuance of the Trade Boards Acts, and its authorised expenses are defrayed by the State. The regulations may provide either for the election of representatives of employers and workers, or for their nomination by the Minister of Labour; but inasmuch as the Boards are usually created in unorganised or incompletely organised trades, the method of nomination is usually adopted. Full weight is given to the recommendations of such employers' associations and trade unions as exist in the industry, but members are also nominated to represent processes and districts not covered by the existing organisations, including homeworkers. In addition, a Trade Board comprises a small number (usually three) of neutral "appointed" members who can perform the function of conciliators and prevent a deadlock. Inasmuch as the minimum rates settled by the Board are enforceable by law, the demarcations of the industries covered are very carefully and precisely defined.

In addition to the regulation of wages, the scope of action of the Trade Boards has now been extended to cover many of the functions exercised by a joint industrial council in fully organised industries. The Boards have power to attach conditions to the employment of apprentices or learners for the purpose of ensuring that they shall receive adequate and effective instruction. They have an indirect control over hours of labour by their power to fix overtime rates; for by fixing such rates at a high level they can make it unremunerative for employers to work excessive hours In addition, they are empowered to report and make recommendations on any matter affecting working conditions in the industry, and it is provided that such recommendations shall be forthwith taken into consideration by any Government department to which they are referred.

It will be seen that the constitution and scope of the trade boards differs widely from that of the joint industrial councils. The trade boards are not, like the councils, voluntary organisations set up by the industry itself, representative solely of

the employers' and workers' organisations, and independent of state control. Moreover, although their functions have been considerably extended by the Act of 1918, their primary function is still the fixing of minimum wage rates. Useful and important as their work must be in raising the level of wages and conditions in badly organised trades, they can never take the place of the joint industrial councils as a medium of constructive co-operation between the parties to Industry. It is probable, however, that the establishment of trade boards may in many cases act as a spur to those engaged in the industry to bring their organisation up to the level which would render it possible to form a joint industrial council and approach the Ministry of Labour with a request for recognition.

To the Final Report of the Whitley Committee, five members of the Committee appended a reservation setting forth that industrial councils and trade boards, while likely to "afford an atmosphere generally favourable to industrial peace and progress," cannot, in their opinion, "be expected to furnish a settlement for the more serious conflicts of interest involved in the working of an economic system primarily governed and directed by motives of private profit"

In this reservation we may fully concur without necessarily sharing the views as to economic organisation by which it appears to have been inspired. It has already been urged in this Memorandum that the replacement of the existing industrial system, based on private enterprise, by a system of guild or state ownership, is in the main a question of practical expediency, to be decided as such. It has further been suggested that in the index function of profits and prices, and in other factors and conditions of industrial life, there exist strong reasons against hasty or too confident generalisation as to the benefits of such a change. But whether the existing system be retained, modified, or abolished, industry will fall short of playing its proper part in the life either of the individual or of the nation, so long as it is "primarily governed and directed" by the motive of personal advantage—whether that motive find expression in the desire to extort profit without rendering equivalent service, or in the acceptance of a standard rate of remuneration without conscientious performance of the work for which it is paid. Against the operation of this motive no economic system can, in itself, afford a guarantee; for, however far it may prove practical to control profits or wages,

it is not possible to compel the exercise by any man of his full powers of hand or brain. Any genuine renaissance of industrial life must depend upon the permeation of industry as a whole by the idea of co-operation for public service as the dominant motive of industrial activity. It is the chief virtue of the proposals outlined in the Whitley Reports, and the chief claim which can be made for the similar proposals contained in this memorandum, that they would encourage and facilitate this transformation of motive, whether it is found desirable to replace or to preserve the existing economic system.

THE INDUSTRIAL COUNCILS OF GREAT BRITAIN[1]

Readers whose knowledge of the industrial situation in Great Britain is confined to the speeches of Cabinet Ministers and the comments of the daily press are apt to imagine that a new heaven and a new earth are being created by some magical process initiated by the Whitley Report. Joint Standing Industrial Councils representing employers and employed, so the press and the politicians inform us, are being set up almost every day, and a new spirit of fellowship and good will is animating masters and workmen alike. I can only say that I have sought for this new spirit, and I have not found it. Joint Standing Industrial Councils are indeed being established in considerable numbers; but most of the vital industries have hitherto shown no anxiety to establish them, and, even where they have been established, there is not much evidence of the "new spirit" of which we hear so much. In fact, the Whitley Report, loudly as it has been acclaimed in governmental circles, has almost entirely failed to stir the world of Labor. In some industries, notably on the railways and in the big engineering group, it has been definitely rejected. In other cases it has been accepted as a useful piece of machinery, but without any particular enthusiasm, and certainly with no idea that it provides a panacea for all industrial troubles. The only case in which its adoption has been urgently pressed by the workers is that of State employees, and in this instance the urgency arises largely from the desire to use it as a means of securing full recognition and the right of collective bargaining.

[1] By G. D. H. Cole. Dial. 66:171-3. February 22, 1919. (Mr. Cole is an exponent of the Guild Socialists Movement.)

The first Whitley Report, to which the later Reports are hardly more than supplements, proposes that in the better organized industries Standing Joint Industrials Councils should be set up nationally in each industry, with District Councils and Works Councils under them The National and District Councils are to consist of an equal representation from Employers' Associations on the one side and from Trade Unions on the other. They are to be voluntary in character, and the endowing of their decisions with any legal power is to be a matter for further consideration. The State is not to be represented, and is to appoint a chairman only when requested to do so by the Council itself. At the same time the Government has announced its intention of recognizing the Councils as advisory bodies representing the various industries, and of consulting them on matters affecting their interests.

In all this there is nothing in the smallest degree revolutionary In most industries in Great Britain there have long existed regular means of joint negotiation and consultation between employers and employed. In some cases these have taken the form of Boards of Conciliation with agreed rules and methods of procedure; in others there have been merely regular arrangements for periodic conference. The important point is that, in the majority of organized industries, recognition of Trade Unionism and frequent negotiation between Trade Unions and Employers' Associations have long been the rule.

The Whitley Report does not in reality carry matters very much further, though at first sight it may seem to do so. It hints again and again that one of its principal reasons for urging the establishment of Joint Industrial Councils is in order to satisfy the demand of the workers for a greater control over industry; but the actual constitutions of the Whitley Councils which have been established do nothing at all to make this aspiration a fact They provide, indeed, for joint consideration of questions affecting the industry; but they do nothing to affect the final and exclusive control of the employer over the way in which he runs his business. I am not complaining, or saying that they could do more I am merely criticizing the prevalent view that the Whitley Report makes a new and revolutionary departure in the sphere of industrial relations. It does not: it only regularizes and formalizes a process which has long been going on in most of our principal

industries, and one which would have continued whether there had been a Whitley Report or not In fact, the control of industry cannot be altered merely by the setting up of a few Joint Committees. The control of industry rests on the economic power of those who control it; and only a shifting of the balance of economic power will alter this control. Such a shifting of power may be, and I believe is, in progress at the present time; but it is quite independent of such events as the issuing and adoption by the Government of the Whitley Report The view most current among Trade Unionists—that the Whitley Report does not matter much one way or the other—is certainly the right one.

Nevertheless, though it is not likely to produce large permanent results, the Report has for the time being attracted a good deal of attention. Official Trade Unionism, represented by the Parliamentary Committee of the Trades Union Congress, accepted it without enthusiasm and subject to its remaining purely voluntary. Even official Trade Unionism will not tolerate compulsory arbitration in any form, except under protest as a war measure. Unofficial rank and file Trade Unionism, represented by the shop stewards' movement and other agencies, roundly denounced "Whitleyism" as an attempt to sidetrack the growing movement of the class-conscious workers towards the control of industry. "Whitleying away our strength," one rank and file critic entitled his article upon the Report, and went on to urge that the capitalists, fearing the rising tide of rank and file committees, had inspired the Report in the hope of substituting for them joint committees of masters and men, and so depriving them of their dynamic and revolutionary character. The National Guilds League, also representing the left wing, declared against the underlying assumption of the Report that industrial peace is possible and desirable under capitalism, and pointed out that, whatever the merits or demerits of joint committees, they cannot provide the dynamic for securing control, or offer any alternative to workshop agitation and workshop organization for the purpose of a gradual assumption of control by the workers Other critics, largely among State Socialists, dwelt rather on the dangers of Whitleyism to the consumer and the risk of establishing a common solidarity between employers and workers in a particular industry against the public—a risk also noted by the Guild

Socialists. In fact, everywhere the left wing, and often a part of the right also, rejected the Whitley proposals.

What, then, of the Whitley Councils and other bodies on similar lines, which are being established? The first thing to notice about them is that many of them affect only small and often ill-organized groups. The Whitley Committee itself recommended the establishment of Joint Industrial Councils only in those industries in which employers and employed were comparatively well organized For the industries in which organization was weak, it recommended the establishment of Trade Boards under the act recently passed to extend the scope of the original Trade Boards Act of 1909 Nevertheless, Whitley Councils have been established in a number of industries which cannot by any means be regarded as well organized. Instances of this are the Pottery Council and the Match Makers' Council. Moreover, Councils are being set up for certain small sectional trades which can hardly by any stretch of imagination be regarded as industries. The Bobbin Industrial Council and the Spelter Industrial Council are notable examples of this undue tendency to sectional organization. On the other hand, Councils have been or are being set up in a number of important industries, including the woolen, printing, building, baking, and other industries.

In addition to the Industrial Councils set up under the Whitley scheme, the Government, through the Ministry of Reconstruction, has established a number of Interim Reconstruction Committees, principally in industries in which the formation of Industrials has not been found possible, but also in some cases for small or almost unorganized industrial groups, such as needles and fishhooks, and furniture removing and warehousing. Altogether there are about twenty Industrial Councils now in existence, and a considerably larger number of Interim Reconstruction Committees. No steps have yet been taken to extend the Trade Boards Act to new trades, unless not very definite promises to distributive workers, to tobacco workers, and to one or two other groups are treated as steps in this direction.

It is too early yet to say what the new Industrial Councils are likely to do when they get to work. Their constitutions are, as a rule, drawn so as to embrace a large variety of purposes, without giving much indication of the course which they will actually pursue. One significant clause, which occurs in

the constitution of several Councils, makes it one of the objects to maintain selling prices at a level which will secure reasonable remuneration to both employers and employees. This recalls the professed objects of many trusts and employers' combinations too closely to require detailed criticism; but it is important to note it because it is clearly based on the assumption of a common interest between employers and workers in a particular industry—a common interest which clearly may easily become anti-social in its effects, and in any case runs counter to the Socialist theory of a common solidarity of all workers irrespective of craft or industry. Apart from this provision the constitutions contain few notable features, except that in many cases the provision for District Councils and, still more, for Works Committees is allowed to fall very much into the background. All the constitutions provide for regular discussion on matters affecting the industry, and for cummunication with the authorities on questions of legislation affecting the industry; but it is too soon to see how this consultation will work in practice.

Apart from the Whitley Councils, there are a number of agencies at work with the declared object of promoting industrial peace. The Industrial Reconstruction Council exists mainly in order to push the ideas of the Whitley Report, and sometimes seems to acquire in the process an almost official status. The so-called "Reconstruction Society" is merely the old Anti-Socialist Union suitably disguised. The National Alliance of Employers and Employed is, directly or indirectly, an offshoot of the big employers' Federation of British Industries, and includes many prominent employers and a few well-known Trade Unionists of the right wing, among them Mr. Havelock Wilson and Mr. John Hodge. This body has so far devoted itself mainly to the question of demobilization, urging that the reconstruction of industry should be undertaken co-operatively by employers and Trade Unions with the minimum of Government interference. The Industrial League is a less formal propagandist body with much the same objects as the National Alliance. None of these bodies has secured much Trade Union backing, except among the Labor leaders of the extreme right wing. In fact all these movements for industrial co-operation are of little effect in relation to the really vital problems of industrial reconstruction. Whatever joint machinery may be set up, it seems unlikely that the gulf be-

tween employers and workers will be in any way bridged. In almost every industry of importance the workers are already busy formulating extensive programs, embodying demands which will hardly be granted without a struggle. The railwaymen have already put forward their National Program, which includes not only the eight-hour day and heavy demands for wage increases, but also a definite claim for an equal share in the control of the railway service. The promise of the eight hour day, already given by the Government, has staved off the crisis for the moment but has done nothing really to solve the problem. The engineering and shipyard trades, which have just received the forty-seven hour week, have an extensive list of further demands in preparation. The miners in most of the coalfields are already putting forward comprehensive programs. The cotton workers have just come through a wage crisis, and are about to put forward a claim for a substantial reduction in hours. The transport workers are formulating a series of national demands for the various sections of their membership. Nor is the position in these industries peculiar. Almost every group of workers has a long list of grievances and demands which have been perforce laid aside during the war, and all these may be expected to emerge during the next few months. The existence of Whitley Councils or Reconstruction Committees will do nothing to alter the character of the economic conflict which seems to be impending.

I do not mean, of course, that the British workers are class conscious revolutionaries aiming definitely at the overthrow of the existing industrial order. Nor do I mean that all, or even the majority, of the demands which they are making will result in strikes. Most of them will probably be settled by negotiation, unless a general upheaval occurs. This however is nothing new. The strike has never been more than an occasional weapon, and the fact that a dispute is settled without a stoppage does not alter the fact that the terms of settlement usually depend on the relative economic strength of the parties. My point is that all the talk about industrial peace and all the action in setting up new machinery will be found to have made very little difference when it is actually put to the test. Employers and workers will continue to differ about their relative status in industry and about their respective shares of its fruits; and they will continue to settle their differences mainly by the balancing of economic forces, whether the bal-

ancing is done by negotiation or by the open force of strike or lock-out. In fact the tendency is to attach far too much importance to joint machinery such as that which is recommended in the Whitley Reports, and to forget that no amount of machinery can alter the essential facts of the economic situation.

BOLSHEVISM

CONSTITUTION OF THE RUSSIAN SOCIALIST FEDERAL SOVIET REPUBLIC[1]

The following translation of the Constitution of the Russian Soviet Republic is made from an official printed text embodying the latest revisions, and required by law to be posted in all public places in Russia.

Resolution of the 5th All-Russian Congress of Soviets, Adopted on July 10, 1918

The declaration of rights of the laboring and exploited people (approved by the third All-Russian Congress of Soviets in January, 1918), together with the Constitution of the Soviet Republic, approved by the fifth Congress, constitutes a single fundamental law of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic.

This fundamental law becomes effective upon the publication of the same in its entirety in the "Izvestia of the All-Russian General Executive Committee." It must be published by all organs of the Soviet Government and must be posted in a prominent place in every Soviet institution.

The fifth Congress instructs the People's Commissariat of Education to introduce in all schools and educational institutions of the Russian Republic the study and explanation of the basic principles of this Constitution.

ARTICLE ONE

Declaration of Rights of the Laboring and Exploited People

Chapter One

1. Russia is declared to be a Republic of the Soviets of

[1] Reprinted by the Nation.

Workers', Soldiers', and Peasants' Deputies. All the central and local power belongs to these Soviets.

2. The Russian Soviet Republic is organized on the basis of a free union of free nations, as a federation of Soviet national republics.

Chapter Two

3. Bearing in mind as its fundamental problem the abolition of the exploitation of men by men, the entire abolition of the division of the people into classes, the suppression of exploiters, the establishment of a Socialist society, and the victory of socialism in all lands, the third All-Russian Congress of Soviets of Workers', Soldiers', and Peasants' Deputies further resolves:

(a) For the purpose of attaining the socialization of land, all private property in land is abolished, and the entire land is declared to be national property and is to be apportioned among agriculturists without any compensation to the former owners, in the measure of each one's ability to till it.

(b) All forests, treasures of the earth, and waters of general public utility, all equipment whether animate or inanimate, model farms and agricultural enterprises, are declared to be national property.

(c) As a first step toward complete transfer of ownership to the Soviet Republic of all factories, mills, mines, railways, and other means of production and transportation, the Soviet law for the control by workmen and the establishment of the Supreme Soviet of National Economy is hereby confirmed, so as to insure the power of the workers over the exploiters.

(d) With reference to international banking and finance, the third Congress of Soviets is discussing the Soviet decree regarding the annulment of loans made by the Government of the Czar, by landowners and the bourgeoisie, and it trusts that the Soviet Government will firmly follow this course until the final victory of the international workers' revolt against the oppression of capital.

(e) The transfer of all banks to the ownership of the Workers' and Peasants' Government, as one of the conditions of the liberation of the toiling masses from the yoke of capital, is confirmed.

(f) Universal obligation to work is introduced for the

purpose of eliminating the parasitic strata of society and organizing the economic life of the country.

(g) For the purpose of securing the working class in the possession of complete power, and in order to eliminate all possibility of restoring the power of the exploiters, it is decreed that all workers be armed, and that a Socialist Red Army be organized and the propertied class disarmed.

Chapter Three

4. Expressing its fixed resolve to liberate mankind from the grip of capital and imperialism, which flooded the earth with blood in its present most criminal of all wars, the third Congress of Soviets fully agrees with the Soviet Government in its policy of abrogating secret treaties, of organizing on a wide scale the fraternization of the workers and peasants of the belligerent armies, and of making all efforts to conclude a general democratic peace without annexations or indemnities, upon the basis of the free determination of peoples.

5. It is also to this end that the third Congress of Soviets insists upon putting an end to the barbarous policy of the bourgeois civilization which enables the exploiters of a few chosen nations to enslave hundreds of millions of the working population of Asia, of the colonies, and of small countries generally.

6. The third Congress of Soviets hails the policy of the Council of People's Commissars in proclaiming the full independence of Finland, in withdrawing troops from Persia, and in proclaiming the right of Armenia to self-determination.

Chapter Four

7. The third All-Russian Congress of Soviets of Workers', Soldiers', and Peasants' Deputies believes that now, during the progress of the decisive battle between the proletariat and its exploiters, the exploiters should not hold a position in any branch of the Soviet Government. The power must belong entirely to the toiling masses and to their plenipotentiary representatives—the Soviets of Workers', Soldiers', and Peasants' Deputies.

8. In its effort to create a league—free and voluntary, and for that reason all the more complete and secure—of the work-

ing classes of all the peoples of Russia, the third Congress of Soviets merely establishes the fundamental principles of the Federation of Russian Soviet Republics, leaving to the workers and peasants of every people to decide the following question at their plenary sessions of their Soviets, namely, whether or not they desire to participate, and on what basis, in the Federal Government and other Federal Soviet institutions.

ARTICLE TWO

General Provisions of the Constitution of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic

Chapter Five

9. The fundamental problem of the constitution of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic involves, in view of the present transition period, the establishment of a dictatorship of the urban and rural proletariat and the poorest peasantry in the form of a powerful All-Russian Soviet authority, for the purpose of abolishing the exploitation of men by men and of introducing socialism, in which there will be neither a division into classes nor a state of autocracy.

10. The Russian Republic is a free Socialist society of all the working people of Russia. The entire power, within the boundaries of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic, belongs to all the working people of Russia, united in urban and rural Soviets.

11. The Soviets of those regions which differentiate themselves by a special form of existence and national character may unite in autonomous regional unions, ruled by the local Congress of the Soviets and their executive organs.

These autonomous regional unions participate in the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic upon a federal basis.

12. The supreme power of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic belongs to the All-Russian Congress of Soviets, and, in periods between the convocation of the Congress, to the All-Russian Central Executive Committee.

13. For the purpose of securing to the workers real freedom of conscience, the church is to be separated from the state and the school from the church, and the right of religious and anti-religious propaganda is accorded to every citizen.

14. For the purpose of securing freedom of expression to the toiling masses, the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic abolishes all dependence of the press upon capital, and turns over to the working people and the poorest peasantry all technical and material means for the publication of newspapers, pamphlets, books, etc., and guarantees their free circulation throughout the country.

15. For the purpose of enabling the workers to hold free meetings, the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic offers to the working class and to the poorest peasantry furnished halls, and takes care of their heating and lighting appliances.

16. The Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic, having crushed the economic and political power of the propertied classes, and having thus abolished all obstacles which interfered with the freedom of organization and action of the workers and peasants, offers assistance, material and other, to the workers and the poorest peasantry in their effort to unite and organize.

17. For the purpose of guaranteeing to the workers real access to knowledge, the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic sets itself the task of furnishing full and general free education to the workers and the poorest peasantry.

18. The Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic considers work the duty of every citizen of the Republic, and proclaims as its motto: "He shall not eat who does not work."

19. For the purpose of defending the victory of the great peasants' and workers' revolution, the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic recognizes the duty of all citizens of the Republic to come to the defence of their Socialist Fatherland, and it therefore introduces universal military training. The honor of defending the revolution with arms is accorded only to the workers, and the non-working elements are charged with the performance of other military duties.

20. In consequence of the solidarity of the workers of all nations, the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic grants all political rights of Russian citizens to foreigners who live in the territory of the Russian Republic and are engaged in work and who belong to the working class. The Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic also recognizes the right of local Soviets to grant citizenship to such foreigners without complicated formality.

21. The Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic offers

shelter to all foreigners who seek refuge from political or religious persecution.

22 The Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic, recognizing the equal rights of all citizens, irrespective of their racial or national connections, proclaims all privileges on this ground, as well as oppression of national minorities, to be contrary to the fundamental laws of the Republic.

23 Being guided by the interests of the working class as a whole, the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic deprives all individuals and groups of rights which could be utilized by them to the detriment of the Socialist Revolution.

ARTICLE THREE

Organization of the Soviet Power

A. Organization of the Central Power

Chapter Six

The All-Russian Congress of Soviets of Workers', Peasants', Cossacks', and Red Army Deputies

24. The All-Russian Congress of Soviets is the supreme power of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic.

25. The All-Russian Congress of Soviets is composed of representatives of urban Soviets (one delegate for 25,000 voters), and of representatives of the provincial *(Gubernia)* congresses of Soviets (one delegate for 125,000 inhabitants).

Note 1: In case the Provincial Congress is not called before the All-Russian Congress is convoked, delegates for the latter are sent directly from the County *(Ouezd)* Congress.

Note 2: In case the Regional *(Oblast)* Congress is convoked indirectly, previous to the convocation of the All-Russian Congress, delegates for the latter may be sent by the Regional Congress.

26. The All-Russian Congress is convoked by the All-Russian Central Executive Committee at least twice a year.

27. A special All-Russian Congress is convoked by the All-Russian Central Executive Committee upon its own initiative, or upon the request of local Soviets having not less than one-third of the entire population of the Republic.

28. The All-Russian Congress elects an All-Russian Central Executive Committee of not more than 200 members.

29. The All-Russian Central Executive Committee is entirely responsible to the All-Russian Congress of Soviets.

30. In the periods between the convocation of the Congresses, the All-Russian Central Executive Committee is the supreme power of the Republic.

Chapter Seven

The All-Russian Central Executive Committee

31. The All-Russian Central Executive Committee is the supreme legislative, executive, and controlling organ of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic.

32. The All-Russian Central Executive Committee directs in a general way the activity of the Workers' and Peasants' Government and of all organs of the Soviet authority in the country, and it co-ordinates and regulates the operation of the Soviet Constitution and of the resolutions of the All-Russian Congresses and of the central organs of the Soviet power.

33. The All-Russian Central Executive Committee considers and enacts all measures and proposals introduced by the Soviet of People's Commissars or by the various departments, and it also issues its own decrees and regulations.

34. The All-Russian Central Executive Committee convokes the All-Russian Congress of Soviets, at which time the Executive Committee reports on its activity and on general questions.

35. The All-Russian Central Executive Committee forms a Council of People's Commissars for the purpose of general management of the affairs of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic, and it also forms departments (People's Commissariats) for the purpose of conducting various branches.

36. The members of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee work in the various departments (People's Commissariats) or execute special orders of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee.

Chapter Eight

The Council of People's Commissars

37. The Council of People's Commissars is entrusted with

the general management of the affairs of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic.

38. For the accomplishment of this task the Council of People's Commissars issues decrees, resolutions, orders, and, in general, takes all steps necessary for the proper and rapid conduct of government affairs.

39. The Council of People's Commissars notifies immediately the All-Russian Central Executive Committee of all its orders and resolutions.

40. The All-Russian Central Executive Committee has the right to revoke or suspend all orders and resolutions of the Council of People's Commissars.

41. All orders and resolutions of the Council of People's Commissars of great political significance are referred for consideration and final approval to the All-Russian Central Executive Committee.

Note: Measures requiring immediate execution may be enacted directly by the Council of People's Commissars.

42. The members of the Council of People's Commissars stand at the head of the various People's Commissariats.

43. There are seventeen People's Commissars: (a) Foreign Affairs; (b) Army, (c) Navy, (d) Interior, (e) Justice, (f) Labor, (g) Social Welfare, (h) Education, (i) Post and Telegraph, (j) National Affairs, (k) Finances, (l) Ways of Communication, (m) Agriculture, (n) Commerce and Industry, (o) National Supplies, (p) State Control, (q) Supreme Soviet of National Economy, (r) Public Health.

44. Every Commissar has a Collegium [Committee] of which he is the President, and the members of which are appointed by the Council of People's Commissars.

45. A People's Commissar has the individual right to decide on all questions under the jurisdiction of his Commissariat, and he is to report on his decision to the Collegium. If the Collegium does not agree with the Commissar on some decisions, the former may, without stopping the execution of the decision, complain of it to the executive members of the Council of People's Commissars or to the All-Russian Central Executive Committee.

Individual members of the Collegium have this right also.

46. The Council of People's Commissars is entirely responsible to the All-Russian Congress of Soviets and the All-Russian Central Executive Committee.

47. The People's Commissars and the Collegia of the People's Commissariats are entirely responsible to the Council of People's Commissars and the All-Russian Central Executive Committee.

48. The title of People's Commissar belongs only to the members of the Council of People's Commissars, which is in charge of general affairs of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic, and it cannot be used by any other representative of the Soviet power, either central or local.

Chapter Nine

Affairs in the Jurisdiction of the All-Russian Congress and the All-Russian Central Executive Committee

49 The All-Russian Congress and the All-Russian Central Executive Committee deal with questions of state, such as:

(a) Ratification and amendment of the Constitution of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic.

(b) General direction of the entire interior and foreign policy of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic.

(c) Establishing and changing boundaries, also ceding territory belonging to the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic.

(d) Establishing boundaries for regional Soviet unions belonging to the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic, also settling disputes among them.

(e) Admission of new members to the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic, and recognition of the secession of any parts of it.

(f) The general administrative division of the territory of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic and the approval of regional unions.

(g) Establishing and changing weights, measures, and money denominations in the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic.

(h) Foreign relations, declaration of war, and ratification of peace treaties.

(i) Making loans, signing commercial treaties and financial agreements.

(j) Working out a basis and a general plan for the national economy and for its various branches in the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic.

(k) Approval of the budget of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic.

(l) Levying taxes and establishing the duties of citizens to the state

(m) Establishing the bases for the organization of armed forces.

(n) State legislation, judicial organization and procedure, civil and criminal legislation, etc.

(o) Appointment and dismissal of the individual People's Commissars or the entire Council, also approval of the President of the Council of People's Commissars.

(p) Granting and cancelling Russian citizenship and fixing rights of foreigners.

(q) The right to declare individual and general amnesty.

50. Besides the above-mentioned questions, the All-Russian Congress and the All-Russian Central Executive Committee have charge of all other affairs which, according to their decision, require their attention.

51. The following questions are solely under the jurisdiction of the All-Russian Congress:

(a) Ratification and amendment of the fundamental principles of the Soviet Constitution.

(b) Ratification of peace treaties.

52. The decision of questions indicated in Paragraphs (c) and (h) of Section 49 may be made by the All-Russian Central Executive Committee only in case it is impossible to convoke the Congress.

B. Organization of Local Soviets

Chapter Ten

The Congresses of the Soviets

53 Congresses of Soviets are composed as follows:

(a) Regional: of representatives of the urban and county Soviets, one representative for 25,000 inhabitants of the county, and one representative for 5,000 voters of the cities—but not more than 500 representatives for the entire region—or of representatives of the provincial Congresses, chosen on the same basis, if such a Congress meets before the regional Congress.

(b) Provincial *(Gubernia):* of representatives of urban and rural *(Volost)* Soviets, one representative for 10,000 inhabitants

from the rural districts, and one representative for 2,000 voters in the city; altogether not more than 300 representatives for the entire province. In case the county Congress meets before the provincial, election takes place on the same basis, but by the county Congress instead of the rural.

(c) County: of representatives of rural Soviets, one delegate for each 1,000 inhabitants, but not more than 300 delegates for the entire county.

(d) Rural *(Volost):* of representatives of all village Soviets in the *Volost,* one delegate for ten members of the Soviet.

Note 1: Representatives of urban Soviets which have a population of not more than 10,000 persons participate in the county Congress; village Soviets of districts of less than 1,000 inhabitants unite for the purpose of electing delegates to the county Congress.

Note 2: Rural Soviets of less than ten members send one delegate to the rural *(Volost)* Congress.

54. Congresses of the Soviets are convoked by the respective Executive Committees upon their own initiative, or upon request of local Soviets comprising not less than one-third of the entire population of the given district . In any case they are convoked at least twice a year for regions, every three months for provinces and counties, and once a month for rural districts.

55. Every Congress of Soviets (regional, provincial, county, or rural) elects its Executive organ—an Executive Committee the membership of which shall not exceed: (a) for regions and provinces, twenty-five; (b) for a county, twenty; (c) for a rural district, ten. The Executive Committee is responsible to the Congress which elected it.

56. In the boundaries of the respective territories the Congress is the supreme power; during intervals between the convocations of the Congress, the Executive Committee is the supreme power.

Chapter Eleven

The Soviet of Deputies

57. Soviets of Deputies are formed:

(a) In cities, one deputy for each 1,000 inhabitants; the total to be not less than fifty and not more than 1,000 members

(b) All other settlements (towns, villages, hamlets, etc.) of less than 10,000 inhabitants, one deputy for each 100 inhabi-

tants; the total to be not less than three and not more than fifty deputies for each settlement.

Term of the deputy, three months.

Note: In small rural sections, whenever possible, all questions shall be decided at general meetings of voters.

58. The Soviet of Deputies elects an Executive Committee to deal with current affairs; not more than five members for rural districts, one for every fifty members of the Soviets of cities, but not more than fifteen and not less than three in the aggregate (Petrograd and Moscow not more than forty). The Executive Committee is entirely responsible to the Soviet which elected it.

59. The Soviet of Deputies is convoked by the Executive Committee upon its own initiative, or upon the request of not less than one-half of the membership of the Soviet; in any case at least once a week in cities, and twice a week in rural sections.

60. Within its jurisdiction the Soviet, and in cases mentioned in Section 57, Note, the meeting of the voters is the supreme power in the given district.

Chapter Twelve

Jurisdiction of the Local Organs of the Soviets

61. Regional, provincial, county, and rural organs of the Soviet power and also the Soviets of Deputies have to perform the following duties:

(a) Carry out all orders of the respective higher organs of the Soviet power.

(b) Take all steps for raising the cultural and economic standard of the given territory

(c) Decide all questions of local importance within their respective territories.

(d) Co-ordinate all Soviet activity in their respective territories.

62. The Congresses of Soviets and their Executive Committees have the right to control the activity of the local Soviets *(i.e.,* the regional Congress controls all Soviets of the respective region; the provincial, of the respective province, with the exception of the urban Soviets, etc.); and the regional and provincial Congresses and their Executive Committees have in

addition the right to overrule the decisions of the Soviets of their districts, giving notice in important cases to the central Soviet authority.

63. For the purpose of performing their duties, the local Soviets, rural and urban, and the Executive Committees form sections respectively.

ARTICLE FOUR

The Right to Vote

Chapter Thirteen

64. The right to vote and to be elected to the Soviets is enjoyed by the following citizens of both sexes, irrespective of religion, nationality, domicile, etc., of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic, who shall have completed their eighteenth year by the day of election:

(a) All who have acquired the means of livelihood through labor that is productive and useful to society, and also persons engaged in housekeeping which enables the former to do productive work, *i.e.*, laborers and employees of all classes who are employed in industry, trade, agriculture, etc., and peasants and Cossack agricultural laborers who employ no help for the purpose of making profits.

(b) Soldiers of the army and navy of the Soviets.

(c) Citizens of the two preceding categories who have in any degree lost their capacity to work.

Note 1: Local Soviets may, upon approval of the central power, lower the age standard mentioned herein.

Note 2: Non-citizens mentioned in Section 20 (Article Two, Chapter 5) have the right to vote.

65. The following persons enjoy neither the right to vote nor the right to be voted for, even though they belong to one of the categories enumerated above, namely:

(a) Persons who employ hired labor in order to obtain from it an increase in profits.

(b) Persons who have an income without doing any work, such as interest from capital, receipts from property, etc.

(c) Private merchants, trade and commercial brokers.

(d) Monks and clergy of all denominations.

(e) Employees and agents of the former police, the gen-

darme corps, and the *Okhrana* [Czar's secret service], also members of the former reigning dynasty.

(f) Persons who have in legal form been declared demented or mentally deficient, and also persons under guardianship.

(g) Persons who have been deprived by a Soviet of their rights of citizenship because of selfish or dishonorable offences, for the period fixed by the sentence.

Chapter Fourteen

Elections

66. Elections are conducted according to custom on days fixed by the local Soviets.

67. Election takes place in the presence of an election committee and the representative of the local Soviet.

68 In case the representative of the Soviet cannot for valid causes be present, the chairman of the election committee takes his place, and in case the latter is absent, the chairman of the election meeting replaces him.

69 Minutes of the proceedings and results of elections are to be compiled and signed by the members of the election committee and the representative of the Soviet.

70. Detailed instructions regarding the election proceedings and the participation in them of professional and other workers' organizations are to be issued by the local Soviets, according to the instructions of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee.

Chapter Fifteen

The Checking and Cancellations of Elections and Recall of the Deputies

71. The respective Soviets receive all the records of the proceedings of the election.

72. The Soviet appoints a commission to verify the election.

73. This commission reports the results to the Soviet.

74 The Soviet decides the question when there is doubt as to which candidate is elected.

75 The Soviet announces a new election if the election of one candidate or another cannot be determined.

76. If an election was irregularly carried on in its entirety, it may be declared void by a higher Soviet authority.

77. The highest authority in relation to questions of elections is the All-Russian Central Executive Committee.

78. Voters who have sent a deputy to the Soviet have the right to recall him, and to have a new election, according to general provisions.

ARTICLE FIVE

The Budget

Chapter Sixteen

79. The financial policy of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic in the present transition period of dictatorship of the proletariat facilitates the fundamental purpose of expropriation of the bourgeoisie and the preparation of conditions necessary for the equality of all citizens of Russia in the production and distribution of wealth. To this end it sets forth as its task the supplying of the organs of the Soviet power with all necessary funds for local and state needs of the Soviet Republic, without regard to private property rights.

80. The state expenditure and income of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic are combined in the state budget.

81. The All-Russian Congress of Soviets or the All-Russian Central Executive Committee determine what matters of income and taxation shall go to the state budget and what shall go to the local Soviets; they also set the limits of taxes

82. The Soviets levy taxes only for the local needs. The state needs are covered by the funds of the state treasury.

83. No expenditure out of the state treasury not set forth in the budget of income and expense shall be made without a special order of the central power.

84. The local Soviets shall receive credits from the proper People's Commissars out of the state treasury, for the purpose of making expenditures for general state needs.

85. All credits allotted to the Soviets from the state treasury, and also credits approved for local needs, must be expended according to the estimates, and cannot be used for any other purposes without a special order of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee and the Soviet of People's Commissars.

86. Local Soviets draw up semi-annual and annual estimates of income and expenditure for local needs. The estimates of urban and rural Soviets participating in county congresses, and also the estimates of the county organs of the Soviet power, are to be approved by provincial and regional congresses or by their executive committees; the estimates of the urban, provincial, and regional organs of the Soviets are to be approved by the All-Russian Central Executive Committee and the Council of People's Commissars.

87. The Soviets may ask for additional credits from the respective People's Commissariats for expenditures not set forth in the estimate, or where the allotted sum is insufficient.

88. In case of an insufficiency of local funds for local needs, the necessary subsidy may be obtained from the state treasury by applying to the All-Russian Central Executive Committee or the Council of People's Commissars.

ARTICLE SIX

The Coat of Arms and Flag of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic

Chapter Seventeen

89. The coat of arms of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic consists of a red background on which a golden scythe and a hammer are placed (crosswise, handles downward) in sun-rays and surrounded by a wreath, inscribed:

Russian Socialist Federal Republic

Workers of the World, Unite!

90. The commercial, naval, and army flag of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic consists of a red cloth, in the left corner of which (on top, near the pole) are in golden characters the letters R. S. F. S. R., or the inscription: Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic.

Chairman of the fifth All-Russian Congress of Soviets and of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee—
J. Sverdlov.

Executive Officers—All-Russian Central Executive Committee: T. I. Teodorovitch, F. A. Rosin, A. P. Rosenholz, A. C. Mitrofanov, K. G. Maximov.
Secretary of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee—V. A. Avanessov.

EXTRACTS FROM A LETTER TO AMERICAN WORKINGMEN FROM THE SOCIALIST SOVIET REPUBLIC OF RUSSIA[1]

He is no Socialist who cannot understand that one cannot and must not hesitate to bring even that greatest of sacrifice, the sacrifice of territory, that one must be ready to accept even military defeat at the hands of imperialism in the interests of victory over the bourgeoisie, in the interests of a transfer of power to the working-class. For the sake of "their" cause, that is for the conquest of world-power, the imperialists of England and Germany have not hesitated to ruin a whole row of nations, from Belgium and Servia to Palestine and Mesopotamia. Shall we then hesitate to act in the name of the liberation of the workers of the world from the yoke of capitalism, in the name of a general honorable peace; shall we wait until we can find a way that entails no sacrifice; shall we be afraid to begin the fight until an easy victory is assured; shall we place the integrity and safety of this "fatherland" created by the bourgeoisie over the interests of the international socialist revolution?

* * *

When the robber-barons of German imperialism threw their armies into defenseless, demobilized Russia in February 1918, when Russia had staked its hopes upon the international solidarity of the proletariat before the international revolution had completely ripened, I did not hesitate for a moment to come to certain agreements with French Monarchists. The French captain Sadoul, who sympathized in words with the Bolsheviki while in deeds he was the faithful servant of French imperialism, brought the French officer de Lubersac to me. "I

[1] By Nicolai Lenine. The Class Struggle, December, 1918.

am a Monarchist. My only purpose is the overthrow of Germany," de Lubersac declared to me. "That is self understood (cela va sans dire)," I replied. But this by no means prevented me from coming to an understanding with de Lubersac concerning certain services that French experts in explosives were ready to render in order to hold up the German advance by the destruction of railroad lines This is an example of the kind of agreement that every class-conscious worker must be ready to adopt, an agreement in the interest of Socialism. We shook hands with the French Monarchists although we knew that each one of us would rather have seen the other hang. But temporarily our interests were identical To throw back the rapacious advancing German army we made use of the equally greedy interests of their opponents, thereby serving the interests of the Russian and the international socialist revolution

In this way we furthered the cause of the working-class of Russia and of other countries; in this way we strengthened the proletariat and weakened the bourgeoisie of the world by making use of the usual and absolutely legal practice of manœuvering, shifting and waiting for the moment the rapidly growing proletarian revolution in the more highly developed nations had ripened.

We are accused of having brought devastation upon Russia. Who is it that makes these accusations? The train-bearers of the bourgeoisie, of that same bourgeoisie that almost completely destroyed the culture of Europe, that has dragged the whole continent back to barbarism, that has brought hunger and destruction to the world. This bourgeoisie now demands that we find a different basis for our Revolution than that of destruction, that we shall not build it up upon the ruins of war, with human beings degraded and brutalized by years of warfare. O, how human, how just is this bourgeoisie!

Its servants charge us with the use of terroristic methods.—Have the English forgotten their 1649, the French their 1793? Terror was just and justified when it was employed by the bourgeoisie for its own purposes against feudal domination. But terror becomes criminal when workingmen and poverty stricken peasants dare to use it against the bourgeoisie. Terror was just and justified when it was used to put one exploiting minority in the place of another. But terror becomes horrible and criminal when it is used to abolish all exploiting minorities, when it is employed in the cause of the actual

majority, in the cause of the proletariat and the semi-proletariat, of the working-class and the poor peasantry.

The bourgeoisie of international imperialism has succeeded in slaughtering 10 millions, in crippling 20 millions in its war. Should our war, the war of the oppressed and the exploited, against oppressors and exploiters cost a half or a whole million victims in all countries, the bourgeoisie would still maintain that the victims of the world war died a righteous death, that those of the civil war were sacrificed for a criminal cause.

But the proletariat, even now, in the midst of the horrors of war, is learning the great truth that all revolutions teach, the truth that has been handed down to us by our best teachers, the founders of modern Socialism. From them we have learned that a successful revolution is inconceivable unless it breaks the resistance of the exploiting class. When the workers and the laboring peasants took hold of the powers of state, it became our duty to quell the resistance of the exploiting class. We are proud that we have done it, that we are doing it. We only regret that we did not do it, at the beginning, with sufficient firmness and decision.

We realize that the mad resistance of the bourgeoisie against the socialist revolution in all countries is unavoidable. We know too, that with the development of this revolution, this resistance will grow. But the proletariat will break down this resistance and in the course of its struggle against the bourgeoisie the proletariat will finally become ripe for victory and power.

Let the corrupt bourgeois press trumpet every mistake that is made by our Revolution out into the world. We are not afraid of our mistakes. The beginning of the revolution has not sanctified humanity. It is not to be expected that the working classes who have been exploited and forcibly held down by the clutches of want, of ignorance and degradation for centuries should conduct its revolution without mistakes. The dead body of bourgeois society cannot simply be put into a coffin and buried. It rots in our midst, poisons the air we breathe, pollutes our lives, clings to the new, the fresh, the living with a thousand threads and tendrils of old customs, of death and decay.

Mistakes are being made by our peasants who, at one stroke in the night from October 25 to October 26, (Russian Calendar) 1917, did away with all private ownership of land, and

are now struggling, from month to month, under the greatest difficulties, to correct their own mistakes, trying to solve in practice the most difficult problems of organizing a new social state, fighting against profiteers to secure the possession of the land for the worker instead of for the speculator, to carry on agricultural production under a system of communist farming on a large scale.

Mistakes are being made by our workmen in their revolution activity, who, in a few short months, have placed practically all of the larger factories and workers under state ownership, and are now learning, from day to day, under the greatest difficulties, to conduct the management of entire industries, to reorganize industries already organized, to overcome the deadly resistance of laziness and middle-class reaction and egotism. Stone upon stone they are building the foundation for a new social community, the self-discipline of labor, the new rule of the labor organizations of the working-class over their members

Mistakes are being made in their revolutionary activity by the Soviets which were first created in 1905 by the gigantic upheavel of the masses. The Workmen's and Peasants' Soviets are a new type of state, a new highest form of Democracy, a particular form of the dictatorship of the proletariat, a mode of conducting the business of the state without the bourgeoisie and against the bourgeoisie. For the first time democracy is placed at the service of the masses, of the workers, and ceases to be a democracy for the rich, as it is, in the last analysis, in all capitalist, yes, in all democratic republics. For the first time the masses of the people, in a nation of hundreds of millions, are fulfilling the task of realizing the dictatorship of the proletariat and the semi-proletariat without which Socialism is not to be thought of

Let incurable pedants, crammed full of bourgeois democratic and parliamentary prejudices, shake their heads gravely over our Soviets, let them deplore the fact that we have no direct elections. These people have forgotten nothing, have learned nothing in the great upheaval of 1914-1918. The combination of the dictatorship of the proletariat with the new democracy of the proletariat, of civil war with the widest application of the masses to political problems, such a combination cannot be achieved in a day, cannot be forced into the battered forms of formal parliamentary democratism. In the

Soviet Republic there arises before us a new world, the world of Socialism. Such a world cannot be materialized as if by magic, complete in every detail, as Minerva sprang from Jupiter's head.

While the old bourgeoisie democratic constitutions, for instance, proclaimed formal equality, and the right of free assemblage, the constitution of the Soviet Republic repudiates the hypocrisy of a formal equality of all human beings. When the bourgeoisie republicans overturned feudal thrones, they did not recognize the rules of formal equality of monarchists. Since we here are concerned with the task of overthrowing the bourgeoisie, only fools or traitors will insist on the formal equality of the bourgeoisie. The right of free assemblage is not worth an iota to the workman and to the peasant when all better meeting places are in the hands of the bourgeoisie. Our Soviets have taken over all usable buildings in the cities and towns out of the hands of the rich and have placed them at the disposal of the workmen and peasants for meeting and organization purposes. That is how our right of assemblage looks—for the workers. That is the meaning and content of our Soviet, of our socialistic constitution.

And for this reason we are all firmly convinced that the Soviet Republic, whatever misfortune may still lie in store for it, is unconquerable.

We are in a beleaguered fortress, so long as no other international socialist revolution comes to our assistance with its armies. But these armies exist, they are stronger than ours, they grow, they strive, they become more invincible the longer imperialism with its brutalities continues Workingmen the world over are breaking with their betrayers, with their Gompers and their Scheidemanns. Inevitably labor is approaching communistic Bolshevistic tactics, is preparing for the proletarian revolution that alone is capable of preserving culture and humanity from destruction.

We are invincible, for invincible is the Proletarian Revolution.

LENINE AND HIS PROGRAM[1]

It is not my intention to summon this man of hate, who lived only for civil war and for the joy of shedding blood, before the bar of justice. The future will do this, if, indeed, it

[1] By Henri Croisier. Living Age. 300:577-82. March 8, 1919.

is not already done before these lines appear. His deeds of blood, rise before him and shape themselves into the most crushing indictment which ever could be brought against a man.

It is difficult to judge him with impartiality. Lenine has done too much harm, he has wakened the instincts of anger and hatred of even those who accepted his régime of 'justice and social equality' with resignation. If I undertake the criticism of his work, I shall try to write objectively, to forget the days I spent at Petrograd, those ten months of arbitrary dealing and outrageous vexations; I shall lay aside all that might reveal my hate for this egalitarian ruffian; I shall try, however, to show the limits of that 'liberal spirit' which our ideologues are conferring upon him, and to expose the pretended messiah and infatuated pontiff of those without a country or a belief.

Moreover, if I am to believe the echoes that I hear, I shall only be following in the footsteps of those moderate Socialists who see in Lenine 'only a grotesque destroyer, a doctrinaire hostile to orderly evolution, the bitter and brutal fanatic who has done his best to discredit that communism to which even the wisest of democratic minds were turning.'

I shall hold to this definition in my study of his work.

I know nothing more striking than his life history, nothing more human and tragic Marked as if by destiny from childhood, he pursues alone, hidden behind pseudonyms, a bloody, grandiloquent and impossible dream His thought has but one aim, the letting loose of universal uproar. But this irreducible enemy of society, this bigoted defender of the proletariat, knows nothing whatsoever of that life which he aims to rebuild upon new foundations, his journeys to foreign lands have taught him nothing about the mentality of those peoples whom he pretends to understand; he has had no comprehension of their ideals. His famous *Letter to American Workingmen,* his *Counsels and Instructions for Swiss Comrades,* are better fitted to rouse indignation than the masses; his science is a purely bookish affair with all the gaps which this fact connotes; his brain, imperfectly furnished, is but a kind of chaotic and intellectual hostelry He takes illusion for reality. Lenine is a man of one idea and one dream.

His biography helps us to a better understanding of him. Unlike the majority of Russian revolutionists, Vladimir Ouli-

anof (N. Lenine) was born in the Orthodox faith. He saw the light of day on the 23d of April, 1870, at Simbirsk, in which his father held the post of director general of primary schools.

According to the testimony of his comrades at the *lycée,* Oulianof was a model pupil, the upholder of the honor of the class. Little, sickly, awkward, red-haired and with gimlet eyes, already unsociable, he ransomed his physical defects by solid moral and intellectual qualities A solitary and a dreamer, they knew that he burned with a hidden flame, but no one foresaw that this flame would one day set fire to Russia and the world. His love of discussion had already marked him out as an able debater; he mastered the professor every time the latter wandered into a digression Not to be beaten on any point, first in all things, he proved, nevertheless, dead to art; a fact which is quite sufficient to explain the vulgarity of his ideas and of the total absence of æsthetic feeling in them; he pretends to replace form with formulas.

A graduate, he goes to Kazan to begin his law studies His dream goes with him He soon becomes the most famous and perhaps the most listened-to propagandist in the University In 1887 his brother is hanged for having plotted against the person of Alexander III. The proceedings include our hero who is unconditionally expelled. All his life long he will cherish the hatred born of this experience and spit it in the face of the world.

Forced from his work, he enters upon his real vocation, he begins a commentary of Karl Marx's *Capital* and Lasalle's works. His cult for Karl Marx has something psychically strange about it; he does not make himself his defender or his intellectual son, but his bulldog. For him *Das Kapital* is no longer the work of an economist; the political testament of a closet philosopher, it is the 'Political Gospel of the Future' all in capital letters. A false aphorism 'Workingmen have no country,' gives him an excuse for discussing his theory of internationalism. On the pretext that Marx recommended 'the union of instruction with production,' he speaks imperturbably, of 'free, obligatory, general instruction of the polytechnique type,' this to be dealt out to children of both sexes up to seventeen years.

Five years later we find him at Petersburg establishing contact with the labor groups. Soon he becomes the very soul

of the 'Federation of the Struggle for the Emancipation of the Working Class,' which he founds in 1895. His activity is feverish: propagandist, agitator, lecturer, publicist, clandestine printer, one finds him everywhere, under assumed names. He dwells in his communist Nirvana, and sows those aphorisms and notions which are later to be a part of the credo of Bolshevism. Under the name of Toumine, he fights against the conciliating and bourgeois tendencies of the Socialists of the time. Then he is arrested, and sent to Siberia. And away he goes, with his dream and his fury of bitterness. It is from a jail that he develops party tactics, following what he calls the principles of international Socialism.

Released, he goes abroad, prepared for his rôle on the world stage We find him at the head of the journal *Iskra* (*The Spark*) and the review *Zaria* (*The Dawn*) in both of which he thunders against the 'soft opportunism' of the economists of the Russian revolutionary party. The year 1903 marks a stage in his life; he is consecrated high chief. At the second conference of the party, he declaims against the conciliatory policy of Plekhanof, representative of the minority (in Russian, menchenstivo) and after the division which followed, he became a leader of the majority (bolchenstivo), hence Bolsheviki.

The attempted revolution of 1905 finds him once more in Russia. It is he who engineers the elections to the second imperial Douma, and to the Socialist congress of London. But soon he is pointed out to Stolypine, victorious Tsarism forces him once more into exile; he goes to a foreign land, and as a member of the Central Committee, becomes one of the standard bearers of world Socialism.

Till 1914, he guides from afar the political lines of the Petersburg journals *Pravada* and *Prosviéchénié*.

The great revolution finds him in Switzerland. We all know how, as an ambassador of Wilhelm's, he had the honor of a special carriage in which to cross Germany. His last words at Selémont to the comrades Grimm and Platten have the insolence of a defiance.

"I am going to prove to you how a man can make history."

Although there was as yet no question of Bolshevism, Petrograd acclaimed with music, Lenine and his aids; a proof, this, of the mental aberration into which those revolutionaries had strayed who are to-day washing their hands free of all guilt.

Moreover, by this we know that it was not Lenine who d stroyed the internal structure of the Russian State. Such belief is false. He only trampled on what had already bee broken down, the army had been for a long time disorganize and Prikase No. 1 was soon to destroy it utterly; more tha 10,000 officers had already paid with their lives for their d votion to duty; the propaganda of Lenine simply converte this force into a band of pillaging brigands. The Fleet— soon became of use only as an illustration that boats will floa the depots of the Baltic, Kronstadt itself, were but empt walls, the lust for pillage had done its work, the officer drowned by hundreds under the ice of the Gulf of Finlan were no longer by to call the men to their duty; from th beginning Lenine was closely bound to these sailor mutinee who, decked like loose women, stinking of cheap brandy an blood, made themselves the champions of the fouler work c Bolshevism. The Ministry? The Agrarian Question? Ther too, the hour of the hunt had sounded; Lenine, lacking hound was soon to unleash his wolves and hyenas.

The program applied by Lenine in Russia is not th work of a day; it is the result of many international soci democratic conferences. It is in truth a kind of reversal t primitive times, a general earthquake whose results it is impo sible to predict. I hasten to add that this program is base on false principles and outworn aphorisms. Lenine, a Russia and a former subject of the Tsars, was to introduce into thi program an extreme element, a class despotism of the mo brutal type.

Here are the leading ideas of this famous program.

Bourgeois capitalism is exploiting more and more the mas of the proletariat. Industrial superproduction, far from ben efiting the workingman, tends rather to his enslavement.

If we would remedy these evils, we must bear in mind:

In replacing private property intended for the productio and the circulation of products by common property, and i introducing an organized social system of production intende to secure the well-being of society, the social revolution of th proletariat will suppress the division of society by classes, an by so doing will liberate all oppressed humanity; this will b the end of all exploitation of one class by another.

The condition governing such a social revolution is the dic tatorship of the proletariat, that is to say, the conquest o

political power by the proletariat, a thing which will permit it to overcome the resistance of all its exploiters. In taking upon itself the task of making the proletariat capable of accomplishing its great historic mission, international Socialism organizes the proletariat into an independent political party opposed to all bourgeois parties, guides all the manifestations of the class struggle, teaches the proletariat the irreconcilable contradiction between its interests and those of its exploiters, and illumines the masses concerning the historic importance and the necessary conditions of the coming social revolution.

The accomplishment of this task first requires

'An immediate break with the bourgeois process of paralyzing Socialism which has turned the higher parties of official Socialism from their duty. This process of paralyzing is sustained on the one hand by social-chauvinism, word socialism, which, by its rallying cry, "the defense of the home land," protects the interest of its own bourgeois brigands; on the other hand by the *soidisant* "centre" groups which are allied with the social patriots, etc.

Secondly:

'The proletariat party cannot be satisfied with the parliamentary and bourgeois republic, which, the world over, preserves and strives to preserve the monarchic instruments for the oppression of the masses—*viz.*, the police: the army and the privileged bureaucracy.'

Finally:

'The party struggles for the republic of the proletariat and the peasantry in which the police and the army will be suppressed and replaced by the general arming of the people. All persons occupying a public post shall be liable to removal at any instant at the demand of a majority of their electors, the salaries paid to these people, without a single exception, shall not exceed the salary of a good workingman'

This is but the general, the universal program, the canvas on which each country, each State, according to its existing constitution, will draw in the lines necessary to the application of the social program in its entirety.

It is here that Lenine begins to go astray; we are led to doubt his intelligence. Russia, mediæval and feudal, half Byzantine, half Asiatic, but represented in the ranks of the social democracy by the most irreconcilable of extremists, now pretends to catch up with the world by the elaboration of a pro-

gram, of maximum claims which will leave far behind, in the audacity of its conceptions, those programs developed by the most cultivated nations. Of such a nature is the table of commandments which stands to-day in Moscow, base of the actual Russian confusion. If that body of law has served as a base for the reputation of Lenine, let us hasten to say that never was a reputation more unstable, more usurped. One asks one's self how a man of talent could so mistake the distance that lay between the *ci-devant* Russia and the ideal of his dreams. Lenine has shown a kind of lack of appreciation of realities, a certain aberration of common sense which would shame the last of the titular counselors of the ex-empire of the Tsars! He is muddling along in a Utopia; only Lenine could have the courage to find, all at once and with one stroke of the pen, a definite solution of the troubles of Russia and of all the world, a remedy for those most complex social and economic disorders which for three hundred years have troubled a nation of a hundred and twenty-four million souls. His brain must be closed to the knowledge of evolution to give birth to such an absurd notion of the State; and take note, that he appears to be the last to doubt of the success and the realization of his dream. 'We are invincible even as the world-wide proletarian revolution itself is invincible!'[1] Nevertheless, his failure is to-day seen everywhere. Like all tyrants, Lenine is deceived by his acolytes; his empire exists no longer; prince of a band of light-fingered illuminati, he is hardly the chief of several oases bound together by telegraph wires and specks of mud and blood!

Here are some extracts from the program of the Bolsheviki, or, more properly the *Social-Democrat Worker's Party of Russia.* I cannot, unhappily, give them *in extenso;* such a proceeding would require too much space I shall hold to the important matters.

The Constitution of the democratic Republic of Russia should guarantee among other things:

1. **The autocracy of the people.**
2. **The general electoral right, equal and direct for all men and women citizens who have reached the age of eighteen years The ballot to be secret.**
3. **Proportional representation at all elections.**
4. **Both delegates and elected candidates of office to be liable to instant removal at the demand of a majority of their electors.**
5. **Local self-governments to be instituted, self-government for all regions presenting special conditions of life or whose population is of a special nature.**
6. **Suppression of all local or regional authorities named by the State.**
7. **Unlimited liberty (*sic.*) of conscience, speech, the press, etc.**

[1] **Letters to American Workingmen.**

Intransigent and intolerant in its false simplicity, this con ception of the State admits no mediating idea, no notion o equilibrium or compromise. Speak not of democracy or ever of classic Socialism—these ideas, no matter how wide or how generous they may be, will mean to Lenine and his friends only enslavement by the bourgeoisie. No; for the bourgeois State, source of all evil, shall be substituted the proletaria State, the source of all that is beautiful and good, and tha State shall be given maximum powers.

There is in this notion a filtered cynicism which I do no relish.

I know that Lenine adds that the Socialist State shall have such a rôle only during the period of transition, that is, during the dictatorship of the proletariat, and that the State will once more become the regulator of the political and economic life of the country once the difference between classes no longer exists. And this, to my mind, is only another proof of the legislator's *naïveté;* he believes in the possibility of dissolving such a difference. Must we tell him that the bourgeoisie though financially ruined, will not abdicate its moral and in tellectual superiority? I offer as testimony many examples ob served in Soviet Russia in which the middle classes, turned into bootblacks, errand runners, porters, and trench diggers have from the very first overwhelmed their professional rivals while the proletarians, transmogrified into public officials and factory managers, have pitiably failed, betrayed by their inca pacity and the accusation of their conscience.

UNDER WHICH KING, BEZONIAN?[1]

The economic program [of the Bolsheviks] is the ex treme form of Marxian socialism—a theory that has been dis cussed for two generations in thousands of volumes, so tha we must assume it to be clear in outline for all intelligen readers. Its fundamental conception is, of course, a reorgan ization of society on such a basis that there shall be no privat or individual property in land or any of the means of produc tion, and no other form of income than that paid by the stat for productive services rendered to the state. Therefore ther will be no rent, no profits, and no interest—and also no wages

[1] By Henry C. Emery. From an article in Yale Review. 8:680-93 July 1919.

in the sense of wages paid by one private individual to another. What is new and startling about the program of the Bolsheviks is that they do not predict this system as something to be brought about in a distant future by economic evolution, but that they propose to bring it about at once by force. And they not only propose to do it, they are actually trying it out. We confront then this simple fact, that the long predicted has at last occurred. The war of the classes has begun. This is the one great dramatic fact about what is called Bolshevism.

Furthermore, there is no profound significance in its appearance first in Russia rather than elsewhere It happened that the great war had in that country its earliest and most disastrous disintegrating effect Somewhat to their own surprise the militant leaders of the social revolution found in Russia the best soil for the seed of their doctrine and the best opportunity for its application by force. The easiest and most shallow way to brush aside this new doctrine—or rather this new incarnation of an old doctrine—is to say that it is "un-American." Of course it is un-American, just as it is un-English, un-French, un-German, and un-Russian. It is altogether un-national. Lenine happens to be a Russian, and the movement has so far assumed an established form only in Russia, but Bolshevism was not devised as a system of government peculiarly fitted to Russia—or for Russia only—nor is it a natural product of Russian character or of Russian institutions. Indeed, many students of the movement believe that Russia is the least fitted of all great countries for the enduring continued success of such an experiment and that while Bolshevism advances in other countries, it will give way first in Russia. The thought is expressed both by the critics of the movement and by its friends. It is even said that Lenine himself shares this opinion

Recognizing then that Bolshevism is a cumulation of a revolutionary world movement rather than the natural outcome of a purely Russian revolution, it will make the situation clearer to recall a few dates of world importance. The year 1815 marks the end of a great period of national conflicts, the course of which had been determined by the rivalry of nations for conquest and power. A world exhausted by war settled down to an era of peace and retrenchment, and of industrial expansion. This period lasted for fifty years, and during it men's minds turned more to new problems of social reconstruc-

tion, brought about by the new economic conditions. In 1848, Marx and Engels published the Communist Manifesto with the startling new summons, "Proletarians of all Countries United." After a momentary spasm of excitement, the world went on its way, leaving socialism to develop as a system of philosophy for academic discussion The kernel of the new socialism was that "all history is a history of class struggle," that consequently the idea of class consciousness must be kept vividly before the minds of the masses, and that ultimately by the working of inevitable forces the system of capitalistic production based on private property must break down. The propertied classes might sputter at such a teaching, but as long as its leaders confined themselves to predicting an economic collapse by the action of natural causes, they were not molested

In the meantime a new era of nationalism began. Wars, national rivalries, national expansion, and more wars followed each other. The most striking features of this new era were the formation of the German Empire, and the war of the nations through which we have passed. The socialistic theory of history, namely, that all history is a history of class struggle, was patently false. The consciousness of national conflict was stronger than the consciousness of class conflict. Not a few earnest socialists, when the test came, found themselves far better patriots than they knew, and more deeply moved by the appeal of patriotism than by the appeal of class loyalty.

None the less, the socialistic theory of class struggle, though false as an explanation of all the phenomena of history, contained a very solid fact. A brilliant writer modified the original statement of the Communist Manifesto by saying that all history is a history of national struggle *or* class struggle—a contest either for the feeding-place (national aggrandizement) or for a share of the fodder (class war). In this brutal form the idea is again extreme and the facts of history have to be distorted too much to make them fit the formula. Yet the struggle of human groups is a struggle for power, and the two most important and abiding forms which such grouping takes are national or racial groups on the one hand and class groups on the other. We have just been through the most stupendous experience of national struggle in all history. At its completion we are facing the first thoroughly self-conscious conflict of the other kind on anything approaching the same scale.

Whether it also will prove "stupendous," the future historian must decide.

The patent fact—which we must not for a moment lose sight of—is that it has come. It is no longer possible to treat the conflict as something academic or vague or wild. The worthy people who told us that to talk about class interest, class solidarity, class war, is unmoral or irreligious are about as useful in their criticism to-day as were the good people who told us that a war of conquest in these enlightened times was impossible, when the Germans marched into Belgium. The fact is that in a great area—once a proud empire—the government has been seized by men claiming to represent a self-conscious proletariat. This government boasts of being a class government, it makes and enforces laws, it abolishes property, and what is more it raises and maintains armies greater than the world had known before 1914, and it wages war both defensive and offensive.

Objection may be taken to the above statements on the ground that they are extravagant or aim at the sensational. Consequently, I wish to make perfectly clear what I mean and what I do not mean. By saying that the class war has begun, I mean that a certain group of men have declared war against the organized state of society as now constituted on a basis of free enterprise and private property, and that in the name of the proletariat they have seized and control a vast territory, where they defend their own system by arms against outside attack and send forth great armies to conquer other territory. This seems to be a patent fact. I do not mean that class war has begun in the sense that now the die is cast, that this class war must be waged throughout the world. This would be to repeat the very boastings of the Bolsheviks in all countries. Our American Bolsheviks assert it as true of America already. They hope to see a similar successful resort to force here. It is not here yet, and I do not for a moment believe there will be even a beginning here. I do not believe that labor is going to follow these would-be leaders. Consequently, when I say that there is already war, I do not mean war between labor and capital, or war between the proletariat and the ruling classes; I mean simply that there is war between the Bolsheviks, on the one hand, and the farmers, laborers, capitalists, and plain citizens, on the other, who

believe that individual free enterprise and private property are the necessary basis of the state.

Others will perhaps contend that I am exaggerating even the attitude of the Bolsheviks, but surely all I have said is asserted over and over with passionate fervor by their leaders. It is not an unfair indictment—it is merely a recognition of their own claim within certain limits

These limits are the limits of geographical fact. In Russia the leaders of Bolshevism have established their power and have waged war. In a minor degree, Bolshevism has been tried in Bavaria, in Hungary, and elsewhere. Wherever it appears it is an international movement. Russian "veterans" are sent to incite class war, or to support it wherever it has broken out. The Bolsheviks of all countries recognize one another as allies against a common enemy. It is easy on this side of the Atlantic to say that what Lenine and Trotzky do is purely a Russian affair, but it is not easy to say so in Germany or Austria, in Scandinavia or Roumania. It is Lenine himself who has most consistently declared that the war cannot be confined to one country; that the Russian Bolshevik campaign is a mere incident, and that it is doomed to failure unless the rest of the world can be conquered by his ideas.

But the class war does not exist here despite the claims of our American Bolsheviks. One or two editors or agitators cannot declare a war; the leader of a million armed troops can do so. It is just as befogging to our minds to deny that the class war is on anywhere, as to assert that it has begun everywhere. American Bolsheviks are hoping for a time when it will really begin here. In using the phrase "American Bolsheviks" one must be very specific. The term is applied loosely in these days, usually through a combination of ignorance and prejudice It is easy to call a dissatisfied striker or a radical editor a Bolshevik, but it is very silly to do so. The term Bolshevik has a perfectly clear meaning, and we ought to confine it where it belongs. The editors of "The New Republic" are no more Bolshevik than the editor of "The Wall Street Journal." But the editor of "The Liberator" is. The I. W. W. is a straight Bolshevik organization, declaring as its first article of faith that there can be no truce between labor and capital—that it is a war to the death between the two classes. Eugene Debs is the one great American hero to Bolsheviks the world over. One does not have to go to Rus-

sia to study the doctrine of Bolshevism—one goes there only to study it in action.

Now, there is one very admirable thing about Debs and Max Eastman, as about Lenine and Trotzky. One knows where they stand and what they are striving for. There is amazingly little hypocrisy or camouflage about them. If anyone says that they are sentimental idealists aiming to reform our imperfect system of society, and that they are, therefore, entitled to the sympathy of the "liberal-minded," they themselves would be the first to laugh with scorn or protest with passion The so-called "parlor Bolshevik" is treated with greater disdain by real Bolsheviks than by the Tories themselves. The true Bolshevik asks for no sympathy from liberals or others. He does not aim at reform of an imperfect system, but at the overthrow of the whole existing order. "It is true, your honor," said Debs, when sentenced, "I am opposed to our system of government." When Professor Irving Fisher made a fine appeal to the economists of the country to realize their solemn obligation, in these troublous times, to stand fearlessly for justice, Max Eastman replied that Professor Fisher had quite missed the point. They want no "justice" as that word is understood by any adherents of the present legal foundations of society. "Justice itself is on trial," he said. What the revolutionist wants is not justice but power, and he is serving notice that he means to take it.

As I have already said, there is something which challenges our intellectual respect in the bold, clear-cut, declarations of true Bolsheviks whether Russian or American. They know which side of the fence they are on, and they want everyone else to know it. If one wishes to know what Bolshevism really is, one should read not what is said about them by the non-Bolsheviks, whether those who denounce them or those who have a strange sympathy for them. One should read what they themselves say about themselves—about their aims and their program. A clever woman with whom I discussed Bolshevism, and who claims to sympathize with it, expressed surprise that I should be a regular reader of "The Liberator." I told her that I read it to keep the issue perfectly clear in my mind and to avoid the risk of having any foolish sympathy with Bolshevism from a misunderstanding of its real nature. "Oh yes," she replied, "just as I read the 'Times' to make sure not to lose my sympathy with it!"

Strangely enough, many educated people express a sympathy with Bolshevism in Russia who assert that they do not want it in America. This is perhaps the enchantment lent by distance. The true Bolshevik does not mean to keep it distant if it can possibly be brought nearer. And furthermore, if the principles of Bolshevism can be made to work with practical success anywhere—which seems to me impossible for centuries to come, at least—they certainly could be made to work successfully in a developed industrial and democratic state like ours more quickly than in Russia. The practical operation of Bolshevism requires a great capacity for industrial organization like ours with a militaristic discipline like that of the Germans. Russia would seem to be the last place in which to think it might succeed.

If we once get firmly in mind the ruthless logic of the theory of the Bolsheviks, based upon this concept of war, many things become clear that otherwise seemed confusing. The clarifying process works in two ways. It clears up many of their actions towards other classes, and towards the world at large, and it clears up our own confused state of mind as to what should be our attitude towards them.

The Bolsheviks suppressed the Constituent Assembly and refused to refer the problem of their rule to a popular referendum. This irritates good Americans who believe in democracy and universal suffrage. But the Bolsheviks abhor what we call democracy, and do not accept universal suffrage as the proper method of settling class affairs. The question whether they are favored by a "majority" is unimportant to them. Some of their defenders vaunt the "democratic" character of their Soviets, with direct representation, immediate recall, and the like. But this is a mere blind to irritate their democratic opponents or to stir doubt in their hearts. There is no free election, no possibility of an anti-Bolshevik ticket. The reason is quite clear. To the Bolshevik a state of war exists. The proletarian class is out to take the power by force throughout the world. If in some particular country such as Russia, or in some particular section of Russia, those who do not support Bolshevism are in the majority, they are to be suppressed. This is perfectly logical when we start with the assumption of a world-wide war of the classes. It is as logical as suppressing any area or class in our own country which favors the enemy in war time.

The Bolsheviks disfranchise the propertied classes. They go farther in theory and propose to abolish the propertied classes, either by abolishing property or destroying its owners. This, however, cannot be done at one stroke, and in the transition period there remain some who live from something beside the direct and immediate pay for their services, from interest or rent profits (whether past or present). Such people are enemies of the new order. Of course, they are disfranchised. One does not give the vote to an enemy in time of war. Some people are misled into thinking that this means that they disfranchise everyone either with brains or a clean collar. This is not true Professors, engineers, managers may receive pay, even large pay, for their services, and have the franchise, if they accept the Bolshevik dogma that no man shall derive an income except from his own labor. This franchise means, however, only a vote for rival Bolshevik candidates. Bolshevism itself is above the franchise.

The Bolshevik leaders have a certain respect for kings and capitalists as one may have respect for an open and ruthless enemy. They are less bitter against a Grand Duke than against Kerensky or Breshkovskaya; less bitter against the Kaiser than against Scheidemann and Ebert; less bitter against Clemenceau than against Branting; less bitter against the monopolist than against the trade-union leader. The reason is that all socialists or labor leaders who still compromise with the institution of property and the wage system are traitors to the cause of the proletariat. When war has been declared treason is the deadliest crime. The traitor suffers a more terrible fate than the leader of the enemy forces. Were Lenine given twenty-four hours of power in this country, on whom would the hand of punishment fall first? Not on Rockefeller because he has the most money, nor on Wilson because he is head of the state, but on Gompers because in the eyes of the Bolsheviks he is the arch-enemy of his own class.

The Bolsheviks held an American Consul, Roger Treadwell, prisoner for months. It is reported that to appeals for his release they said they would let him go if we would release Mooney. At first this seems a piece of sheer insolence, of foreign interference with our own administration of justice by our own courts. But if we look at it from the point of view of the class war, it is quite consistent. The Bolsheviks recognize no national boundaries. There are as many fronts in

this war as there are countries. According to their claims the proletariat is arrayed around the globe against the forces of property. It happens that in Tashkent the Bolsheviks held as prisoner a representative of the "established order." It happens that in California the representatives of the established order have put in prison a Bolshevik. What seems to us preposterous, namely an exchange of such prisoners, seems to them simple and logical, and it is logical if we once grant the premises.

The Bolsheviks suppress freedom of speech and freedom of the press with an iron hand. This is inconsistent with their protestations, when they were a minority in opposition, but an inconsistency quite common to all revolutions. There is, however, no inconsistency with their theory. Once granted the major premise, that an expression of belief in a system of private property, or an advocacy of private initiative in industry, constitutes a seditious utterance against the Bolshevik state, and the ruthless suppression of all utterances favoring the American type of democracy becomes an intelligible part of their whole fierce logic.

A clear recognition of these facts clarifies our ideas as to what position we may or should take towards Bolshevism. Plainly there can be no half-way position. The Bolsheviks themselves have adopted the slogan that he who is not with them is against them. Every conscientious man must face this challenge for himself and choose accordingly. One must be prepared either to throw in one's lot, at all sacrifice, with the red revolution, or to exert all one's efforts to oppose it. This will be a hard saying to many. There are those who have a morbid dread of finding themselves on the conservative side. They have always taken great pride in being in the vanguard of the "forward" movement. Their greatest fear is that they will be classed as reactionaries; this feeling is quite intelligible and in some cases arises from noble sentiments of sympathy. But the time has come when many of them must recognize that the so-called forward movement has been such a rapid movement that a position in the front guard means nothing less than allegiance to the cause of red revolution by force of arms. If they are not prepared to go this far, they must be reconciled to hear themselves classed as conservatives and reactionaries. No one should be afraid to have epithets hurled against him by the enemy.

It may be objected that such a position leaves no room at all for an enlightened liberalism between revolutionary radicalism and tory reactionism. This, however, is not the fact. To make the choice, once for all, to devote oneself to fighting the Bolshevik régime, and the spread of its doctrines, does not mean that one is driven into the camp of those who oppose any change in the existing order and block every agitation for reform. There is nothing in this choice to make the words agitation and agitator offensive. The question is only as to what the agitation is for.

There is, indeed, grave danger that the forces of the enemy will be increased by the stupid tactics of those who cannot see the difference between the main issue and the minor issues. The main issue is quite simple. A Bolshevik is a man who believes in the overthrow of the institution of private property by force of arms. The definition is so clear-cut that there is no occasion to misuse the word. Unfortunately, the really reactionary person cannot refrain from calling everyone a Bolshevik who is less reactionary than himself, whether he is a laborer striking for higher wages, a trade unionist demanding recognition of the union, or an editor denouncing mob violence against radical meetings. Such indiscriminate denunciation by the reactionaries obviously does an immense amount of harm to the very cause which the reactionary desires to champion. It is equally obvious that it is perfectly useless to tell him so. All agitation for change will continue to be denounced, but such agitation will always exist. The duty of every fair-minded man is to refuse to have his mind clouded either by the unintelligent opponent of Bolshevism, who includes under that name everything radical, or by the equally unintelligent, but more soft-hearted, sympathizer who tries to make the Bolshevik out as something quite different from what he is or from what he claims to be.

One thing is clear The Bolsheviks by their own avowal have outlawed themselves. They despise democracy as we understand the term. They demand no amelioration of conditions. They do not ask for justice. They avow their contempt for "due processes of law." Very well, then, the gauntlet being thrown down, we cannot refuse to see it.

The first result is that any appeal in behalf of recognizing their "rights" loses all meaning. The word "right" has a legal significance, and they assert themselves outside and above ex-

isting law. The question is not one of "rights" or of "justice," which have no meaning apart from definite conceptions of law and the social order which the Bolsheviks discard. It becomes merely a question of policy—a difficult question, which cannot be discussed here. The main thing now is to recognize that the Bolsheviks of Russia have no "rights" in the matter of maintaining their form of government. The argument that we must recognize the right of the Russians to settle their own form of government does not hold in this case at all. It is not only because the present government is government by terrorism, and the very phrase "the rights of terrorism" is self-contradictory nonsense The fundamental fact is that by its very essence Bolshevism is a world movement. It is an attack on all governments The Bolsheviks did not merely rebel against the governments of Nicholas or Kerensky. They declared war against the basic legal institutions of all civilized states. They aim to overthrow these institutions everywhere. They do this in some cases by subsidies; in some cases by the spread of their agents; in some cases by resort to arms. The question then as to whether, or in what measure, intervention by arms is desirable or wise is merely a question of sound tactical judgment. It is not a question of anybody's "rights."

It does not follow that because the Bolsheviks have resorted to force, that force is the best weapon to employ against them. But it also does not follow that it is not the best weapon. It is frequently said that one cannot fight ideas with bayonets—or as Talleyrand said "one can do everything with bayonets except sit on them permanently." This is a profound truth, no doubt. But when ideas and bayonets join forces it may be that they must be opposed by other bayonets as well as other ideas. How best to fight destructive ideas is a problem that cannot be solved by any one formula. The situation has to be faced and solved differently, in different places, and at different times. It requires the wisest statesmanship. Unfortunately, up to now the statesmanship of the world has been absorbed in international questions of another character. A pathetic lack of statesmanship has been shown regarding the Russian and Bolshevik problem. The policy actually pursued appears to have been the worst possible, judging from results. Whether there has been too much intervention, or too little, can be vigorously disputed by men of equal judgment, who are agreed on the object to be achieved. There is also to be

considered the effect of a policy of force not only on the territory when it is applied, but on the countries applying it.

The same problem of policy arises regarding the attitude towards avowed Bolsheviks at home. This also will be hotly debated. Shall it be a policy of suppression or of pitiless publicity? Shall we punish with rigor, or attempt to convince by education? All these questions are questions of policy only. There always remains the danger, however, that in these disputes we shall forget what the new war is about; what the issues are, and who is on our side and who against us. To call one another names, to denounce one another's motives, is to weaken ourselves in the face of a common enemy. We become angry with one another when we should co-operate to the utmost. The trade unions of the country may prove the best fighting troops They can do more to stem the tide of Bolshevism than any number of Defense Societies.

There is the utmost need that all different groups fighting for the same cause should show due consideration for differences in judgment, and should pay due tribute to loyalty of motive in all cases. At the same time we should clarify our minds as to where the real issue lies, and we should know at what point sympathy must cease. Let every thoughtful man of liberal views search his heart as to whether or not he is giving sympathy to the self-declared forces of destruction. On this point there must be no wavering or doubt. He who is not against Bolshevism is with Bolshevism. The time has come for each to answer the question, "Under which king, Bezonian? speak or die."

RUSSIA'S STRUGGLING FORCES[1]

During the first days of the Russian revolution you found all classes of Russian society among the persons celebrating liberty. The great landlord, Jutschkoff, and the reactionary, Pruiskevisch, compelled the Tsar to sign his abdication, and brought this document, with the zeal of real revolutionists, to the people. The great landlords, the military men, the whole civil service, were on hand during these first days. They all swore loyalty to the revolution, and proffered their services

[1] By K. J. Ledoc. From an article in the Living Age. 302:261-6. August 2, 1919. (Mr. Ledoc discusses Bolshevism from a Socialist's point of view.)

to the nation. Many dreamers thought that Russia would present an example of a new world order, that the aristocratic bourgeoisie would work hand in hand with the proletariat for the common welfare of mankind. But matters took a different turn. When a mighty storm raises a river so that it overflows its banks and rushes headlong toward the sea, it carries with it in its violent course, stones, sand, and other objects, which would never move from their places of their own momentum. Stones cannot swim. The moment the storm has stopped and the flood subsides these things sink to the bottom and become an obstacle in the channel of the river. The river cannot flow unobstructed until they have been removed, and they will never swim again.

We see the same thing in Russia in the case of the army classes, the landlords, the bureaucracy, and their dependents. The storm of the revolution swept them off their feet, and they greeted the red flag with rejoicing. But they never conceived that a revolution meant a new social order. In their ignorance they thought that those days in March, 1917, had merely changed the color of the coat of paint upon the edifice of government and that its inner structure would be unaffected. But the proletariat in factory and workshop and in field and farm, which had labored and sacrificed and bled a quarter of a century for the revolution, saw nothing in the overthrow of the Romanoff dynasty unless something more was accomplished, and urged on by the momentum of the moment, it continued its revolutionary efforts. That was too much for the landlords, the bureaucrats, and the army officers. They saw that the proletariat really wanted to socialize the country, and they comprehended that militarism and democracy cannot be reconciled in a democratic nation. Therefore, they cast the god of Liberty into the fire and returned to their overthrown gods of absolutism.

The revolt of Korniloff in September, 1917, started the thing. The landlords, the army officers, and all other hangers-on were the active element in the counter-revolution. Their battle-cry was: 'Restoration of the monarchy and a complete abolition of all the liberties attained by the revolution.' In the same way that they fought to restore the Tsar they also fought for the return of the land to its former owners. They did not recognize the right of the Russian people to self-administration. They would have nothing to do with freedom

of speech, freedom of the press, and freedom of movement. They would not recognize the right of the workingmen to organize and strive for their own economic betterment. They were reactionaries to the core, and when we read in the newspapers to-day that they have changed their colors and want to set up a liberal government as soon as they have crushed Bolshevism, they are lying—and democratic Russia knows they are lying. Unhappily, the powers to whom they are appealing for assistance do not know also that they are lying.

It is a great misfortune that just at this time these reactionary forces should be so prominent in the struggle against Bolshevism. But they are no less reactionary. Their names, Krasnof, Denikin, Kolchak, and Skoropadsky are well known. They have fought against Bolshevism long enough to make it very strange that they have won no ground but are rather losing it, or suffering, like Skoropadsky, a complete defeat. *Why is this so? It is because Russian democracy does not trust them and will not help them overthrow Bolshevism in order to set up reaction in its place.*

Let us discuss what they have actually done. Skoropadsky, the typical representative of the landlord class, and himself the owner of more than 300,000 acres of land in Poltava, during his eight months' rule in Ukraina did everything that could be done to deliver this beautiful country over to Bolshevism. He took away from the peasants the land which they had seized a year earlier at the time of the revolution. He sent punitive expeditions throughout all the provinces. They were composed of former officers and policy employees and constables, and they were led by the great landlords of their respective districts. They flogged the peasants and levied contributions upon them to the amount of all that the landlords had lost in the course of the revolution. Every labor and Socialist newspaper was suppressed by Skoropadsky and other newspapers were strictly censored. The very first manifesto issued by Skoropadsky repealed all the laws and liberties that had gone into force during the revolution. Every trace of local self-government in city and village was abolished and political authority was placed in the hands of Skoropadsky's personal agents. Furthermore, in the course of his rule every well-known democratic leader in the Ukraine was arrested and many were shot. The cabinet consisted principally of great landlords, generals, and other gentlemen of arbitrary precedents from the time of

The cabinet consisted principally of great landlords, generals, and other gentlemen of arbitrary precedents from the time of the Tsar. No concession was made to democracy. Every attempt to assert the rights of free men was bloodily suppressed. That was the glorious rule of the law-and-order government, and it ended just as might be expected—with Bolshevism.

Krasnof, the Cossack general of the Don, followed faithfully in the footsteps of Skoropadsky. Even the most remote relation to the revolution was made a crime in the Don district. Yes, even official prayers for the Tsar were reintroduced All of the laws of the old monarch were restored. An attempt was made to re-establish the same restrictions for the Jews that Nicholas had abolished when the war broke out When Rodzianko, the Conservative president of the old Duma, issued an appeal for a union on the basis of a constitutional monarchy, he was expelled from the Don district by Kolchak for his 'revolutionary' ideas! Kolchak has been fighting the Bolsheviki for more than a year without winning any ground. On the contrary, he was defeated not long ago. Why is this? Because democracy cannot fight in the ranks of Kolchak, whose government and purposes merely nourish new civil war.

General Denikin, who is often lauded as the savior of Russia, has formed an army composed almost entirely of former officers, brought up in the service of the Tsar and deprived of a career by the revolution. They hate democracy, and they are fighting for a social order which will guarantee them the privileged position which they formerly enjoyed under the Tsar. They have flocked to the standards of Denikin, because he promises them all their old glory. And remarkable as it may seem, those brothers in arms who are not fighting with them are now leading the Red army in the ranks of the Bolsheviki. But these others are still loyal to despotism, only they have chosen the despotism of the Bolsheviki instead of the monarchy. Wherever Denikin controls all civic freedom disappears He even attempted to overthrow the Kuban democracy, but failed and was driven out of that region.

When Denikin mobilized the people of his district by force, the men who reported, as soon as they got their weapons, deserted. It was Denikin's army that, last November, killed twenty-six students of Kief University and wounded sixty others because they were celebrating peacefully the German revolution in the university building. Denikin's victory means for

Russian democracy merely a protraction of the period of civil war. It has happened repeatedly that when he has won a success at the front a revolt has broken out at his rear.

In addition, there was another army opposed to the Bolsheviki which was composed of democratic elements—of the proletariat and the intellectuals. There was the army of the constitutional convention, headed by the Ufa directory. It fought successfully against Bolshevism, cut it off from Siberia, and seriously threatened Moscow from the east Some prospect existed of really defeating Bolshevism here In truth the situation for the Bolsheviki was at no time so critical as last summer when the Ufa army was planning to establish connections with the democratic army in northern Russia. But at this moment the situation was rescued for the Bolsheviki by one of their enemies, and the bitterest enemy of democracy in Russia, Admiral Kolchak. He stuck a knife into democracy from behind, imprisoned the Ufa directory and dispersed the members of the constitutional assembly. He abolished all civic liberties and placed the people under a military dictatorship. The democratic front was broken and a way opened for the Bolsheviki armies to the Urals. Consequently, the Bolsheviki are not holding the regions that the armies of the constitutional assembly formerly held. Admiral Kolchak is a bureaucrat of the old school. He will have nothing to do with democracy. He crushed it pitilessly on the eve of its victory because democracy was something worse in his eyes than Bolshevism.

Upon the whole, the battle fronts opposed to the Bolsheviki—excepting the northern front, commanded by Chaikovsky, and the western and the southwestern fronts—consist principally of reactionaries, great land owners, army officers, and bureaucrats of the old Russians. They fought for counter-revolutionary ideas. Therefore, their number is small and their success negligible. Their victory is no less feared by democratic Russia than Bolshevism itself. Were they really to win they would erect a military dictatorship, restore the old order and destroy all the fruits of the Russian revolution. But since the clock of history cannot be turned back their rule could not be permanent. Hatred would again flare up in Russia, fan revolts, and prepare new civil wars.

The success of the Bolshevik revolution in Russia is not based upon an uprising of a whole proletariat which was possessed of Bolshevik faith and offered its life to attain these

ideals. The revolution in Russia was victory over a government that had sacrificed its authority for the time being. The demand was for peace and bread. The question of communism was a secondary matter. The working people of Russia wanted peace, and the result was that even the proletariat that was not Bolshevik was friendly to the Bolshevik revolt at first. Subsequently the proletariat permitted the Bolsheviki to disperse the constitutional assembly, because the latter, regardless of the popular will, wanted to continue the war. Consequently, Bolshevism had on its side at first idealists, who believed that the time had come for a new social order, and were willing to accompany the Bolsheviki a certain distance to see their ideals realized, and part of the proletariat, which cooperated with it in carrying out its communist ideas, and finally a large faction of the agricultural and industrial proletariat, which was willing to remain neutral for a period. It should be emphasized that a greater part of the Russian proletariat, although it never believed communism would succeed, nevertheless hoped that the experiment might produce some good results, which would ultimately lead to a just social system. Here again history has been a thorough teacher. It has taught the Russian proletariat that good intentions do not modify the course of evolution. The proletariat has paid very dearly for this lesson. But it now knows that the course of social and economic evolution follows stern natural laws, and that a millennium cannot be attained until the country is prepared for it.

The Bolsheviki honestly tried to create this ideal status of society, and they cannot attribute their failure to the fact that they did not have complete power to apply its theories. It is true that the educated classes and some of the working people did not join the Bolsheviki, but the latter frankly assumed that they were a minority when they made themselves dictators. They started with communism and ended with despotism. They began their activity as a proletarian party. Now, they are a separate group, distinct from every other class of society. I cannot describe the blunders of the Russian Communist party nearly as forcibly as their own leaders have done, but their deviations from their own programme are not yet fully realized by most people. Consequently I shall say a word regarding them.

Russia's land question was settled by the Bolsheviki in a

manner that contradicted their own principles. The Communists constantly preached that the land must be socialized. But the decrees upon the subject issued by the people's commissioners merely confirmed the acts of the peasants, who had long previously divided up the land among themselves without paying any regard to Socialist or Communist theories The result is that the members of the landless country proletariat, having received only a diminutive allotment, are not independent proprietors, since they have not enough land to support themselves. On the other hand, they have now lost their former freedom of movement. The result is that the land reform has created a new system. The middle class peasants quietly rent the land of their poorer neighbors, and the latter are cultivating their own soil as wage hands. The Bolshevik land reform proved a great failure. Deep and bitter indignation against Bolshevism spread through the country Last autumn when the Bolsheviki began to send food expeditions into the country the breach between them and the peasantry became an open one. *To-day, practically all the country population of Russia is united against Bolshevism.* Just now its method of resistance is rather passive, but for that reason no less effective. Its weapons are partly economic. Last autumn so little land was planted that it is safe to assume that the wheat and rye harvest next summer will scarcely feed the peasants themselves in Central Russia. No surplus whatever will remain for the townspeople Neither was there any ploughing to speak of in the autumn of 1918, and the climatic conditions of Russia are such that it is impossible to get a satisfactory harvest unless the land is ploughed in the autumn as well as in the spring Here we see the peasantry and the rural laboring classes resisting Bolshevism by preparing to starve it.

The city proletariat has tolerated Bolshevik experiments longer. In many instances non-Bolsheviki helped the Bolsheviki, seriously desiring to see their ideals put to the test. Now after sixteen months of Bolsheviki reforms Russian industry is absolutely ruined. Very few people are now employed in the shops and factories of the city proletariat. Those that still operate are being supported artificially and have no sound vitality. There is hardly a factory which is paying its own way. Since they have been nationalized they continue with the aid of government subsidies. But most of them are shut up. They have been pillaged and their machinery wrecked. The prole-

tariat is unemployed and forced to migrate out of the cities to get bread and labor.

The whole socialization of industry and banking and commerce and other branches of business life were doomed to failure from the outset. Everything was regulated by decrees issued by theorists without previous consultation with experts from the industries affected, and without any prior investigation or practical knowledge of the real situation When they nationalized the banks they annulled private deposits, and factories had great difficulty in getting even money enough to pay wages. Allotments of money for their necessary operating expenses were not obtained until weeks and months after they were requested Inevitably the whole manufacturing world was paralyzed. The new system of administering manufacturing establishments completed the ruin. Experienced managers were removed and committees appointed in their place consisting mainly of good agitators for Bolshevism but mighty poor managers. Very soon these committees developed into a bureaucratic institution incapable of rendering positive aid but powerful enough to settle the fortunes of the workingmen.

As an outcome, instead of nationalizing the instruments of production in Russia, Bolshevism has destroyed them and precipitated the proletariat into misery and despair. The Russian proletarians cannot claim to be as well trained and independent as their western brethren. They have not the same ability to analyze and to test things out. When they get an idea they obstinately try to apply it at once. They did not want to fight, and neither Milyukof nor Kerensky nor Plechinof nor Kropotkin could make them fight any longer. Now they have gone to the other extreme and are intensely embittered by their recent experience. Unemployment, hunger, sickness, suffering, and warfare are the gifts of Bolshevism So the people are now raising themselves slowly, but threateningly, against Lenine and Trotzky. The situation in the Bolshevik camp has changed. The anti-Bolshevik proletariat is in the majority, while the former Bolshevik proletariat is ready to witness the overthrow of Bolshevism with indifference. The movement against it is growing and gaining strength. The city proletarians and the educated classes, the country laborers and all the democratic elements are rallying their forces and preparing to cast down Bolshevism. You hear of strikes now and then and of revolts and mutinies throughout Central Russia. These

are merely the trials of strength of the proletariat. The rebellious element is multiplying and winning adherents from circles that were but a short time ago the body-guard of Bolshevism. There are already many formerly Bolshevik factories, and entire regions, which are feared to-day by the Bolshevik leaders as hostile to them.

In this manner another front has been erected against Bolshevism, a democratic front, real and powerful, although we cannot draw its strategic lines upon the map. It is the supreme danger for Bolshevism, because it has been organized within its own ranks and among its former adherents. This front is making no dramatic gestures before the world, but it is the front that ultimately will conquer and subdue Bolshevism.

In my opinion the situation in Russia is hastening to a climax. Before many months Bolshevism will collapse. It is more likely that it will voluntarily surrender. But it will not surrender to reactionary militarism or to an intimidated bourgeoisie fighting it from abroad. Bullets and swords cannot kill Bolshevism, even though all the world outside of Russia rise against it. Democracy at home will force Bolshevism to surrender and will then organize a new Russia—a democratic Russia.

RUSSIAN REVOLUTIONISTS AGAINST BOLSHEVISM[1]

Confronted with the fact that at present two extreme tendencies are raging in Russia, one worse than the other, Bolshevism and the reaction of the Black Hundreds, and knowing that Russia can be regenerated only through freedom and popular rule, we must wage an open war against the Bolsheviki of the Left and the Right. We must eliminate both of these elements that are destroying Russia's existence and freedom, and thereby make possible the speediest application of the principles laid down by the Great Revolution of March 1917. We must adopt the following program:

(1) The reestablishment of all civic liberties; (a) freedom of speech, (b) of the press, (c) of assembly, (d) of associations, (e) inviolability of person, residence and mail, (f) freedom of religion,—on the basis of the temporary laws passed by the Russian Provisional Government.

(2) The reestablishment of municipal and rural (Zemstvo) self-government on the basis of the laws passed by the Russian Provisional Government.

(3) The summoning in the briefest possible time of an All-Russian Constituent Assembly on the basis of the election law promulgated by the Provisional Government.

[1] From an article by Catherine Breshkovsky. Struggling Russia. 1:52. April 12, 1919. This represents the views of famous revolutionists like Bourtzev, Kropotkin, Tchaykovsky and others.

(4) The proclamation of Russia as a democratic, federated Republic.
(5) The resumption of the work of the Committees assigned to prepare the plans for the organization of regional Dumas (Siberia, Ural, Northern Provinces, Southern Provinces, etc.), and the renewal of the functioning of the Regional Governments.
(6) The recognition of the transition of the land to the toiling masses, pending the final solution of the land problem by the Constituent Assembly, and the transfer of the administration of agrarian affairs to the proper Zemstvo institutions.
(7) The recognition of the nationalization of forests, waters and the substrata of the soil, pending action by the Constituent Assembly.
(8) The State control of industry in cooperation with the Zemstvos and workers' organizations.
(9) Decisive encouragement and help to Cooperatives and to the Zemstvos by the Government. The immediate organization of trade and industry.
(10) Autonomy for nationalities in Russia on the basis of the laws passed by the Russian Provisional Government
(11) The recognition of the separation of Church from State.
(12) The organization of an effective Army on the basis of the soldier's retention of his rights as a man and a citizen.
(13) The declaration as null and void of all the decrees of the Bolsheviki, with the adoption of a policy of gradual transition from conditions under their regime to the newly moulded forms, on the basis of temporary regulations to be ordained either by the future Provisional Government or by the Constituent Assembly.
(14) Immediate amnesty to all political prisoners, if their offenses have no taint of criminality.

The time for despotism and the suppression of the ideas and strivings of the people towards a decent human life is gone forever. We cannot save Russia without sincere service to the ideals of freedom. We are prepared to give her all freely, unhesitatingly and without fear of sacrifice.

BOLSHEVIKI AS CAPITALISTS[1]

Writing recently to the *Morning Post* on Russian affairs, I quoted the Bolshevik politician Chudskayeff's heretical opinion that soviet nationalization would after all prove to be only "nonsense." The reasons for M. Chudskayeff's view I gave with facts and figures. The Supreme Council of National Economy, which is the ultimate authority in these grave matters, is now rushing headlong into a new system, which indicates that though one cannot undo "nonsense" already done, one may correct it. The new move is back toward capitalism, not indeed to what Lenine in an excellent speech calls "the predatory side of capitalism," but toward "the, by us, unfortunately, neglected organizatory side." In other words, private individuals are still to be forbidden to make profits, but the methods by which these private individuals made profits in pre-Bolshevik days are to be restored, and the profit is to be turned into the pocket of the State. And even, it seems, large incomes are sometimes to be tolerated, for Lenine, in his *New Problems of*

[1] From the Living Age. 301:760-2. June 21, 1919.

Soviet Power, admits that an expert factory director may be paid as much as 100,000 rubles a year.

"State capitalism," the form which was emphatically rejected by the majority of the recently-dispersed German Socialization Commission, is Bolshevism's latest expedient. *It means the exploitation of workmen to an extent to which they were not exploited by the least merciful private capitalists in modern times* Further, it is directly contrary to the Syndicalist-Bolshevik trend elsewhere in Europe. While industrial workmen in Norway are demanding the elimination from their collective wage agreements of the provision that the employer "directs and distributes work," the Russian Supreme Council of Economy is depriving the workmen of their supposed elementary right to "direct and distribute work" But necessity knows no law. The last Russian newspapers received by me contain abundant evidence that only by compromising with "Capitalism," by becoming *plus capitaliste que les capitalistes,* can the Government of People's Commissaries survive—if it can survive at all. For instance, the new half-yearly budget (January-June, 1919) shows that the estimated expenditure is 49,100,000,000 rubles, as compared with 17,602,727,444 rubles for the corresponding half of 1918

And there are other facts. The official *Ekonomitcheskaya Zhizn* states that in some cities the population is so badly off for metal goods that they pull down wooden houses for the sake of the nails, screws, locks, the roofing-lead, and the drainage pipes. Nails, says this journal, cost 700 rubles per pound; tinned kitchen utensils average 450 rubles per pound; enameled iron utensils, 600 rubles per pound; and the thin brass plates, usually about eighteen inches square, which are nailed to dwelling-room floors in front of Dutch stoves, change hands at 270-300 rubles each. The raw materials—pig-iron and copper—used in the construction of a locomotive at the Putiloff works cost 170,000 rubles But, according to M. Hessen, formerly editor of the *Riech,* the one locomotive started since Bolshevism seized power is not yet finished. There is plenty more material as to the complete collapse of nationalized industry And it is the same with nationalized trade. The Bolshevik Commissary, Molotoff, complained to the party conference at Petrograd that of the state stores in Petrograd 380 are closed and sealed.

The cause everywhere is idleness, or, as it is politely expressed, "fall-off in *per capita* production." This is the motive

which has induced Lenine, backed, it seems here, by Trotzky, Chicherin, and Lunacharsky, to resort to capitalistic methods. The move has gone so far that the less compromising Bolsheviki—Kameneff, Zinovieff, and, it seems, the Commission for Combating Counter-Revolution—have begun to regard Lenine and his friends as themselves "counter-revolutionaries." When Lenine in January restored freedom of trade except in bread, salt, sugar, and vegetable fats, the ultra-Communist newspapers of Petrograd openly attacked him as a traitor to the Bolshevik cause. And there is the same tendency now. It began when Lenine in the pamphlet mentioned demanded severe factory discipline, the subordination of employees to expert managers and technicians, piece-work, payment by results, and even the "Taylor system," which the enslaved workman of backward Western Europe has managed to resist "Whereas until now," said Lenine, "the workmen have been autocratic masters of the factories and workshops, the interests of the revolution and of the workmen themselves demand the absolute submission of employees to the manager of each industrial enterprise" And Trotzky, in a speech which I have not seen, but which is quoted in the Berlin *Vorwärts,* said that:

> **All your elected committees, even though they contain the working-class' best representatives . . . cannot replace a single technical expert with special school training. . . . The working-class must now understand when it is necessary to submit to the expert . . . no capable and talented expert can do his work if he is made subordinate to a committee of workingmen who do not know the expert's work.**

No one can accuse the Bolsheviki of lack of daring. When they decided "Self-Government in the Factory" had failed they set about establishing the alternative, "Autocracy in the Factory," with unshrinking zeal. As far as one can judge from scattered references in the irregularly received Bolshevik newspapers, two systems were adopted In some factories the detested piece-work is enforced, and in some the old system of payment by hour, day, or month is retained, combined with the new rule of a minimum output and a premium payment for output above the minimum. Workmen who fail to reach the minimum are dismissed or reduced to a lower wage scale. The minimum output and premium-payment system has been introduced into the Tula small-arms and cartridge works and into several Moscow factories, including boot and clothing works According to the *Golos Rossiyi,* the innovation produced "consternation and a sentiment of revolt." This is natural enough,

for I find in the official *Ekonomitcheskaya Zhizn* that "idling was universal" and that the employees refused to understand that "production is the imperative interest of the proletariat," and, as I wrote in my last letter on Russian Nationalization, the workmen usually managed to do as they like, and even to draw pay while they were on strike. All this changed—at least in certain works It appears there were some protest strikes, but the remorseless Soviets, in the best "capitalistic" tradition, put on the hunger screw, and payment by piece, and the almost equally infamous minimum output and premium-payment system, are now in force.

And with the inevitable result. The workmen began to work—pretty badly, one may suspect, but much better than before. In Tula, according to the Labor leader Tomsky's statement to M. Puntervold, a Norwegian lawyer-Socialist who visited Moscow, there was an increase of 50 per cent in the production. M. Puntervold got other statements as to the favorable influence on output. The official *Ekonomitcheskaya Zhizn* records also a heavy increase *per capita* productivity in metallurgical works. "In some men for the first time was observed even a zeal to earn as much money as possible." But the new discipline was strict, much stricter than the "self-limitation on comradely initiative," which Trotzky required. When in the Third Moscow Clothing Factory "comradely initiative" took the form of insistence by the employee's committee on dismissal of an unpopular but efficient chief, Red Guards were marched into the factory and the workmen were marched out.

Long ago the Soviets forbade strikes, calling them a form of treason against the proletariat. But all along strikes took place, and they take place even now. The "capitalistic" innovation here introduced is merely that strikers are no longer paid. And the Supreme Council has dared to decree prolonged lockouts. Lately the 2,000 workmen of the nationalized Bogatyr Rubber Works defied orders and struck repeatedly because the State employer paid them only 1,000 rubles a month, whereas, their former private employers had paid them 1,500. The State employer settled the question by closing the factory down. And the State has also practically annihilated the trades unions. That is, it has absorbed them, or taken them under its protection and tamed them, quite in the way of Plehve, Trepoff, and other stalwarts of autocracy, who by this means tried to divert

working-class movements into harmless channels. The Bolshevik State has succeeded in identifying the labor unions with the State industrial control; and the humble function of the unions to-day is to increase production, and thus support the State in its struggle against the industrial worker's idleness and license. The "Manchester Labor Union," as the Bolshevik Kozelieff derisively calls the Western-European type of trades union borrowed by Russia after the revolution, has vanished forever. Instead, there is a paternal and wholly consistent State industrial despotism. Or rather that is the aim. The new system has been only partially carried through. But its success so far indicates that Bolshevism will persevere.

BOLSHEVISM CONVICTED OUT OF ITS OWN MOUTH[1]

The Bolshevik Program

Like the German propaganda, the pro-Bolshevik agitation makes very grave blunders—even from the standpoint of its own interests. The pro-Bolshevists, for example, are making claims on behalf of the Bolsheviki, which the latter themselves deny.

In America, the Russian Bolshevists are represented as being democrats; in Russia, Lenine and his followers lose no occasion to repudiate democracy, both in word and in deed. Our quotations will show that the very basis of Bolshevism consists in the repudiation of democracy!

In America, the Bolsheviki are represented as having given land to a landless peasantry; in Russia, the Bolsheviki attribute nearly all of their troubles to the fact that there has been very little land (not in peasant hands before the revolution) to give—a fact which will also be demonstrated later by quotations from the Bolsheviki themselves.

In America, the Bolsheviki are represented as being pacifists; Lenine and Trotzky have neglected no opportunity to denounce bourgeois pacifism and to assert that they are in favor of a holy war against any and all non-Bolshevik governments wherever such a war has a chance of success.

In America, the Bolsheviki are represented as favoring in-

[1] From an article by William English Walling. National Civic Federation Review. 4:7-9. January 10, 1919.

dividual liberty; in Russia, the Bolsheviki absolutely repudiate such regard for personal liberty as being a "bourgeois doctrine and practice."

In America, Lenine is presented as being a hundred per cent Socialist; in Russia, Lenine presents himself as being one hundred per cent anti-Socialist, that is, a "communist," opposed to the Socialist International.

In May, 1917, the first or non-Bolshevik revolution was already sufficiently developed to enable Lenine to define the application of his doctrine to the new political situation in which Russia found itself From the *New International* (April, 1918), an American Bolshevik publication, we quote the following paragraph of a long article by Lenine:

The word democracy cannot be scientifically applied to the Communist Party. Since March, 1917, the word democracy is simply a shackle fastened upon the revolutionary nation and preventing it from establishing boldly, freely and regardless of all obstacles, a new form of power; the council of Workmen's, Soldiers' and Peasants' Deputies, harbinger of the abolition of every form of authority.

Shortly after the Bolsheviki came into power, Lenine defined the new "dictatorship" of the proletariat as follows:

Just as 150,000 lordly landowners under Tsarism dominated the 130,000,000 of Russian peasants, so 200,000 members of the Bolshevik Party are imposing their proletarian will on the mass, but this time in the interest of the latter.

In order to understand thoroughly the extent and precise grounds of Lenine's repudiation of democracy, let us quote his denunciation of the rival faction of the Social Democratic or Workingmen's Party, namely, the Mensheviki:

In its class composition this party is not Socialist at all. It does not represent the toiling masses. It represents fairly prosperous peasants and workingmen, petty traders, many small and some even fairly large capitalists, and a certain number of real but gullible proletarians who have been caught in the bourgeois net.

We are progressing into the Lenine psychology. Even "a fairly prosperous" workingman is not a "proletarian."

In a political catechism prepared in the summer of 1917 Lenine asks the question, Is it necessary to convoke the Constituent Assembly, and answers, "Yes, and as soon as possible." This demonstrates that the Bolsheviki did not dare to oppose the idea of a democratic Constituent Assembly and did not intend to oppose it if they could gain control of it. It was only because they found the overwhelming majority of the peasants and a large part of the working people against them that they dispersed the Constituent Assembly and established

the "Soviet" doctrine. What this doctrine is we may see from an examination of the Soviet constitution adopted at the fifth Pan-Russian Congress of Soviets.

In the preamble, the Soviets state that they propose "to put an end to every ill that oppresses humanity." The Soviets necessarily proceed to a very extreme policy to carry such a program into effect, declaring for "a dictatorship of the proletariat and the poorest peasantry."

Here the cat is out of the bag. Not even "the poor peasantry" can be relied on. Only a very vaguely defined class of "the poorest peasantry" is trusted to support the dictatorship of the city working classes, which in Russia do not represent more than ten or twelve per cent of the population.

Furthermore, a very large proportion of this working class, as we shall show below is anti-Bolshevik.

The utter impossibility of defining the "poorest peasantry" leads the Soviet Congress to adopt another anti-democratic expedient for preventing the Russian people from controlling Russia—for disfranchising the peasantry representing eighty-four per cent of the population. This expedient is very simple Each Bolshevik workingman (the non-Bolsheviki being excluded by methods described below) is given the same vote as five peasants! The following is Article One of Section 8 of the Soviet Constitution:

The Pan-Russian Congress of Soviets consists of representatives of the urban Soviets (one delegate for each 25,000 votes) and representatives of the government congresses (one delegate for each 125,000 voters).

No discussion of the Soviet program will be complete without stating its position on international affairs. The Soviet proposes a world-wide war against all non-Soviet governments, whenever and wherever such a war promises success—and the wars they have actually waged show what they will do if they get the chance.

Bolshevism in Practice

We have given sufficient Bolshevik evidence on the Bolshevik program. Let us now turn to the practical working out of the program, which is a far different thing.

Certain new converts to Bolshevism have been circulating the entire Bolshevik program, together with their plans for the transformation of industry, government, education, literature, music and art as if the mere publication of Lenine's ukases

were equivalent to the complete accomplishment of the stupendous changes proposed! We have already quoted expressions of Lenine's showing the breakdown of his program in its most fundamental point, namely, the effort to secure the support of the peasantry. We shall now quote Trotzky and Gorky as to the failure of Bolshevism in other directions.

Gorky is undoubtedly the greatest literary figure among the Bolsheviki. It is true that his paper was forbidden for a long period and that he was for a time practically out of that movement. But he has re-entered it recently and has been given an important position by the Bolsheviki. They not only accept him once more as one of their leaders, but are boasting about his return to the fold. The motives for this return we do not know. Possibly Gorky desired to stay in Russia and to keep his head on his shoulders. Possibly he was influenced by the considerable power given him in matters pertaining to literature and education.

It needs the pen of a master writer like Gorky to describe the practical workings of Bolshevism. And he has done a good job! We shall now reproduce quotations from Gorky's principal articles about the Bolsheviki—with the minimum of editorial comment necessary to bring out the importance of the points raised.

Nikolai Lenine is the Kaiser, the Pope and the Karl Marx of the Bolshevik movement. His doctrines and ukases are absolute. No instance is on record where his doctrines or authority have been impugned. In his works Lenine defends not only a dictatorship of the proletariat, but a highly centralized revolutionary movement with one man at the top. Gorky's description of Lenine therefore becomes extremely important. We see him from the point of the great Russian Bolshevik writer as a sort of Calvin or Loyola, a fanatic, a man who is willing to put his theories into effect regardless of the cost in human life and regardless of the opposition of the overwhelming majority of the population.

Gorky on Lenine

Lenine is one of the most remarkable men of the Socialist "International." He is very intelligent, and possesses all the qualities of a "chief," including the absolute moral indifference which is often necessary for such a part. On occasions he does not lack a certain sentimentalism, but, at the same time, he has no pity for the mass of the people. And he believes that he has the right to make this terrible experiment on the Russian people Weary of the war, and very unhappy, this people has already paid for Lenine's "experience" with thousands and thousands of lives. It

will still cost it tens of thousands more. But this atrocious tragedy never makes Lenine hesitate, for he is the slave of dogma, and his partisans are his slaves.

Lenine does not know the people. But he does know—from his books—how to arouse the masses and how to excite their worst instincts. The working classes are to Lenine what minerals are to the metallurgist. Can a Socialist-Nationalist state be made of this mineral? Indeed no, and Lenine doubts it. But why not try? What does Lenine risk if the attempt does not come off? Nothing much.

This description of Gorky's is all the more important because he himself shares a very large part of the Bolshevik theories—he opposes only the violent and autocratic methods of Lenine. In another article in his paper, the *Novoya Zhism*, Gorky resumes his analysis of Lenine's cruel and despotic actions. Let us note that Gorky realizes fully that Bolshevism and the Soviets have become identical. This is important, for the pro-Bolsheviks of the *New Republic* and other similar American publications have endeavored to secure the recognition of the Bolsheviki by the round-about method of demanding the recognition of the Soviets—insisting that they are still two separate and distinct things! Gorky says:

Here begins the line of sharp division between myself and the chaotic, topsy-turvy activities of the Soviets. I regard intellectual Bolshevism to be of great value to the aspiring Russian soul. This intellectual Bolshevism or Bolshevism of ideas could train the Russian soul to boldly demand its own, stir it to readiness for struggle and activity, awaken this indolent spirit to the sense of initiative, and especially give it form and life.

But the practical Bolshevism of the anarchistic-communalistic visionaries which emanates from the Smolny Institute is injurious to Russia, and, above all, to the laboring class. The Soviets regard Russia as so much material for experiments. The Russian people is to them like the horse to the bacteriologist who injects the animal with the bacillus of typhus in order to produce the antitoxin. *It is with this kind of brutality and this form of disregard of consequences that the Soviets treat the Russian people, without giving the least thought to the possibility that the tortured and half-starved creature may die in the process.*

The social revolution that is planned can never be realised, under the present conditions of life in Russia, for the reason that it is not possible to turn overnight into Soviets eighty-five per cent of the population of the country, which consists of peasants, living together with about twenty million of nomads from alien races.

My own opinion is that the Soviets are undermining and destroying the working class of Russia. They are setting up formidable towers of fearful and senseless complications that will stand in the path of the working class. Deaf to the voice of reason, they are bringing into existence unheard of insurmountable difficulties for the whole of the future course of the proletarians in their efforts to advance the progress of the war

The Bolshevik Program "Written on Water"

Gorky says that there is practically no relation whatever between Bolshevik professions and Bolshevik practice. The professions are themselves sufficient to arouse the last degree of hostility on the part of every democrat—as we have shown above in quoting the Bolshevik's own statements. The practice

is infinitely worse. As Gorky says, the Bolshevik actuality can have no relation whatever with any sort of idealism—not even with the perverted, reactionary and anti-democratic idealism of the Bolsheviki themselves Gorky says.

> The proletarian is the bearer of a new culture. In these words were incorporated the beautiful dream concerning the triumph of righteousness, reason and love, the dream of the triumph of man over the beast In the struggle for the realization of this dream thousands of men of all classes gave up their lives. Now the proletarian is at the helm, he has secured the coveted freedom to labor and create freely.
>
> It is now in order and pertinent to ask: "How does this labor and the proletarian's freedom to create express itself?" The decrees of "the Government of People's Commissioners" are no more than newspaper feuilletons, no more, no less. *It is that sort of literature which is written on water, and even though a real idea is now and then given expression to, the present circumstances forbid the realization of any idea.*
>
> What new things, then, is the revolution bringing? How is it transforming the bitter realities of Russian life? How much light is it bringing into the darkened lives of the Russian people?
>
> *For the period of the revolution ten thousand lynchings have already been accounted for* This is how democracy is meeting out judgment upon those who have in some way sinned against the new order.
>
> During the days of the progress of drunkenness human beings were shot down like dogs and the cold-blooded destruction of human lives came to be a commonplace daily occurrence. *In the newspaper "Pravda" the pogroms of the drunken mobs are written up as the "provocative acts of the bourgeois"* which is clearly a misrepresentation, the employment of a pretty phrase which can only lead to the further shedding of blood.
>
> *Theft and robbery are increasing from day to day. The practice of the art of taking bribes is becoming more and more widely introduced and our new officials are already as well trained in the art as those who served under the Czar's government.* The dubious individuals who have assembled around the Smolny Institute do not even hesitate to intimidate the frightened citizens. The coarseness of the representatives of the government of the "People's Commissioners" have aroused universal protest, and yet these representatives speak in grieved tones *The various petty officials who hover about the Smolny Institute appear to be drunk with a sense of conquest and regard the citizens as if they were the conquered,* acting even as the misguided police of former days were in the habit of acting. They shout and scold and give commands to every one, just as of yore the village sheriffs would treat the inhabitants of the obscurest rural districts in Kanotop or Tchsuloma, *and all this is done in the name of the "proletarian," in the name of the "social revolution." But in realty it represents only the triumph of the beast over man,* the ascendancy of the Asiatic spirit which still dwells among us, the ugly growth upon our soul. Where, then, is that spirit which expressed itself in "the idealism of the Russian workingman" whom Carl Katusky has so enthusiastically eulogized?
>
> Where is that which is supposed to be incorporated in the morality of socialism—the new morality?
>
> I expect that one of our "realists in politics" will answer me contemptuously with the usual phrase: "What is it you wish? Do you not realize that this is the revolution?"
>
> *No! I do not recognize the unmistakable signs of the social revolution in this association of zoological instincts. It is a combination of the feelings of our lower selves, without socialism, without the spirit of socialism, without the psychology of socialism.*

The Demoralization of the Masses Through Bolshevism

It cannot be said that Bolshevism has had no effect upon the Russian masses No free election or any other evidence

has indicated that the Bolsheviki have a majority in Russia, or even in the big cities where they are strongest. But the power that they hold through their control of the arsenals, the food supply, the railways, the firing squads and the secret police has enabled them to have an immense effect—of a deleterious kind. (They rule precisely as the Czar did There can be no question that Nicholas II had 90 per cent, if not 95 per cent of the people against him. Yet the helplessness of a disarmed peasantry scattered over two Continents allowed him to continue his rule) The effect of Bolshevism on the masses is described by Gorky as follows:

All the observers of the village today are unanimously of the opinion that the process of disintegration and demoralization is proceeding there with irresistible force. Having plundered the estates of the landowners, having shared out among themselves or simply destroyed the dead and living stocks on those estates, having even taken to pieces the buildings, the peasants are now preparing for war against one another for the division of the spoil. To this is added the calamity of famine In some districts the population has long ago consumed all the available stocks of corn, including seed corn; while in others the peasants, having had a good harvest, are hiding corn and even burying it in order not to share it with their starving neighbors. *All this must lead, and in some places has already led, to a war of all against all, and to the most senseless chaos and universal destruction and murder.*

In a bitter passage, terrible in its irony, Gorky concludes:

Yes, the process of self-discipline among the masses is proceeding with gigantic strides. The revolutionary army garrison at Sebastopol has already undertaken the last final struggle with the bourgeoisie. Without much ado they decided simply to massacre all the bourgeoisie who lived within their reach. They decided and did it. At first they massacred the inhabitants of the two most bourgeois streets in Sebastopol; then the same operation, in spite of the resistance of the local Soviet, was extended to Simferopol, and then the turn came to Eupatoria.

Apparently similar radical methods of class-war will soon be applied to Greater Russia, for we have already Mr. Bleichmann (the leader of the anarchists) energetically carrying on an agitation within the walls of the Petrograd Soviet in this sense.

In Russia conscience is dead. The Russian people, in fact, have lost all sense of right and wrong. "Pillage whatever there is to pillage." Such is the motto of the two groups of Bolsheviki. The Red Guards, constituted to attack the counter-revolutionaries, shoot without trial any one whom they suspect. Pillage in all its forms is the only thing which is organized. In Petrograd every Bolshevik citizen may share in the spoil. The churches, museums, shops and stores are robbed.

In the provinces still more tragic events are taking place. Almost incredible demands are made upon the population at a few hours' notice. The Crimea is undoubtedly the province which has suffered most. The sailors of the Black Sea Fleet brutally murdered hundreds of their officers, and repeated these barbarous outrages in several towns, where they also murdered political prisoners. The scenes were such as to cause several cases of insanity among the terrorized population. The slaughter continues, and shooting is rife in the towns.

Trotzky and the Professional Bolsheviki

When the Bolsheviki secured control of the Russian Government by the aid of bayonets and a large supply of money, the source of which is still a matter of dispute, the party had from one hundred to two hundred thousand members according to statements of Lenine. These are the professional Bolshevists—and it is with them alone that the real power rests. After the Bolsheviki had been in power for seven or eight months, Trotzky made the following frank statement of the character of the Russian labor organizations which compose the Bolshevik movement:

Let us be honest. Who are the leaders of the labor organizations today? Partly worthy self-sacrificing and convinced people who therefore have learned nothing and are scarcely able to read and write, but partly all sorts of adventurers and swindlers who take advantage of every great chance to make a position for themselves.

Trotzky proceeds to explain that the educated classes (which the Bolsheviki have been prosecuting in such a frightful manner) refuse to furnish them the experts and administrators absolutely indispensable in every department of life today.

Evidence of a Pro-Bolshevik Prime Minister of Finland

Oscar Tokoi, first constitutionally elected Prime Minister of Finland, who has just spent several months in Russia as an ally of the Bolsheviki, an alliance which he has since repudiated, sums up the situation as follows:

In comparison with the entire population only a small minority supports the Government, and, what is worse, to the supporters of the Government are rallying all the hooligans, robbers, and others to whom this period of confusion promises a good chance of individual action.

Even a great part of those who from the beginning could stay with the Government and who still are sincere social democrats, having seen all this chaos, begin to step aside, or to ally themselves with those openly opposing the Government. Naturally, as time goes by, there remains only the worst and the most demoralized element. Terror, arbitrary rule, and open brigandage become more and more usual and the Government is not able to prevent it.

Naturally only a small part of the people will remain backing such an order.

A Socialistic society cannot be brought about by the force of arms, and cannot be supported by force of arms, but a Socialist order must be founded on a conscious and living will of an overwhelming majority of the nation which is able to realize its will without the help of arms.

I do not believe that at this time there is in Russia any social force which would be able to organize the conditions in the country. For that reason, to my mind, we should to begin with, frankly and honestly rely on the help of the allied powers.

The democratic traditions of these countries are some surety that the social order established by them will be a democratic one.

We must destroy the originator and the cause of the war, militarism, by its own arms, and on its ruins we must build, in harmony and in peace—not by force, as the Russian Bolsheviki want—a new and a better social order under the guardianship of which the people may develop peacefully and securely.

FIGHT BOLSHEVISM WITH DEMOCRACY[1]

The epitaph of Bolshevism was composed long ago, when it was written of the ancient Gauls that "They shook all States and founded none." The Bolsheviki have neither founded new States nor made any other addition to the constructive powers of mankind. Not a single institution or principle of enduring value can be discerned in the whole mass of Bolshevist propaganda, intrigue and experimentation. It is a negative, destructive, disintegrating force. It has shaken many States, sometimes, as in Russia, almost wholly destroying the entire structure of organized society and extinguishing the light of civilization. In those nations in which government has been less brutally tyrannical than Russia knew under the Prussian-led Romanoffs, and in which the people have been accustomed to the self-discipline of a vastly greater degree of freedom and political responsibility, Bolshevism has been less influential for evil. It has been thwarted by the superior strength which governments based on widely diffused privileges and powers always enjoy.

It is easily comprehensible, but none the less gravely portentous, that in this country the first response to the challenge of Bolshevist propaganda has too generally taken the form of a resort to methods of oppression and repression resting on brute force and in no essential particular differing from those resorted to by the most despotic autocrats. The average American loves and cherishes the freedom and opportunity so widely diffused under our form of government. By no means blind to the defects and shortcomings of our political and economic arrangements; increasingly inclined to challenge those arrangements and to make cautious experiments with a view to perfecting them, the average intelligent American citizen, from whatever land he or his parents may have come, is passionately proud of American democracy, despite its imperfections. He is ready to improve it if he can, but he is determined to defend it, and is not ready to undertake experiments which will imperil it.

To the mind and temper here indicated Bolshevism, with its fierce, strident challenge and its reckless daring born of despair, is unintelligible and incomprehensible. Therefore it is a thing to be feared and hated; for men fear the thing they

[1] From an article by John Spargo. McClure's. 51:10. September, 1919.

do not understand, and hatred is the child of fear. That is why so many of us resort to brute force when the Bolshevist challenge is heard Hate breeds hate. Terror breeds terror. The itinerant I. W W. agitator talks loudly of revolution of force, threatens the overthrow and destruction of the State and the institutions upon which modern social life is based. He preaches to men who are, or feel themselves to be, the victims of injustice, the desperate gospel that freedom and justice can be had by uniting to discredit, defy and destroy the existing social order Reckless, he gives approval and assent to all means of revolt and destruction, and scoffs at the "bourgeois idealism" of observing the disciplines and restraints of law and morality.

* * *

Wherever Bolshevism presents itself it is the product and counterpart of despotism and oppression Extremes meet because they are natural affinities The black terrorism of the Czars brought about the red terrorism of the Bolsheviki The only substantial difference between Bolshevism and Czarism is that whereas the latter represented autocracy and tyranny from the top, exerting its pressure downward, the former represents autocracy and tyranny at the bottom, exerting its pressure upward. If there is any lesson at all for our guidance in the tragic and sinister drama of Bolshevism, it is that it flourishes best in the soil of oppressive and unjust political conditions and finds least congenial the soil of political and economic democracy, freedom and equality of opportunity.

The sympathy with Bolshevist theories and practices manifested by some of our intellectual romanticists and parlor revolutionists merits no serious attention, except in so far as it is shared by a not inconsiderable and increasing number of wage-earners It is here that the danger lies. And the danger is far greater than is generally recognized. Even our alarmist demagogues appear to have no clear idea of the extent to which the wage-earners of America believe in Bolshevism and the Bolsheviki. During the winter it was my privilege to lecture on Bolshevism to large audiences in many cities, and the manner in which the Bolsheviki found ready defenders, and the enthusiastic applause which greeted every such defender of the Bolshevist régime was a revelation. In more than one large city it has been apparent to me that of an audience of several hundred people, more than half were so favorably inclined to

Bolshevism that they cheered every mention of the names of Lenine, Trotzky and other Bolshevist leaders and laughed at the recital of their brutality. I have seen a great demonstration of approval by hundreds of men and women, wage-earners, when a Bolshevist defender in an Open Forum audience cried out, "We don't want democracy: it is a fraud! We want a proletarian dictatorship such as they have in Russia!"

It is in such facts as these that the real peril of America lies. Foolish indeed must we be to refuse to admit its grave significance, or to attempt to console ourselves with the admitted fact that such views are held by a small minority, that the great mass of the workers of America reject Bolshevism root and branch. We cannot afford to build such a fool's palace of false optimism. It is the very essence of Bolshevism that it depends on the minority and does not require the adhesion of the majority In Russia there never has been a moment since the overthrow of Kerensky when the Bolsheviki were supported by as many as ten per cent of the population In Germany, again, the Spartacides, as the Bolsheviki of that country are called, openly boasted that they were only a minority; that the vast majority of the German workers were opposed to them, but that they were determined to rule, nevertheless. There is no danger that a majority of our people will become Bolsheviki; what danger there is relates to a minority of embittered and desperate souls. The most sanguine and daring of Bolshevist agitators in this country hope only to reach that minority.

Most of the men and women who cheered Bolshevist propaganda at the meetings referred to were of alien birth. Many of them were unnaturalized and all of them were as yet unassimilated into our national life. In most cases they came to America full of faith in democracy, expecting far too much from it, and their faith has been destroyed, and replaced by grim despair America has taken them into its industrial life but has failed to win their affectionate trust. The basis for a profoundly great patriotism is therefore lacking The seriousness of this failure lies in the fact that, alone among the great nations of the modern world, we have come to depend upon an alien proletariat. "Eighty per cent of those who work in our plant are foreign born," I was told by a manufacturer in Bridgeport, Connecticut, "and forty-six languages are spoken by them. They neither comprehend America nor love it"

The surest way to promote Bolshevism is to permit the

continuance and development of unjust and oppressive political and economic conditions. Czarism produced Bolshevism in Russia, not because it was hereditary, nor because it was imperial, nor because it was based upon a theory of government long since discarded. It was none of these things which gave rise to Bolshevism, but the fact that the system resulted in political and economic injustice and inequality. It denied millions of human beings the political power to shape the policies of the State. It left millions of human beings in a state of economic insecurity and without any power to govern their own employment. Where men are oppressed; where toil brings not comfort, leisure and happiness, but poverty and increasing anxiety; where they have no effective voice in the government but are filled with political despair,—there, inevitably, the toxin of Bolshevism is engendered.

Why Are People Dissatisfied?

All this is old and social gospel, even as Bolshevism is an old and social evil. It is only the word that is new and foreign. The thing itself is found wherever industrialism oppresses human beings and robs them of hope and faith. Nikolai Lenine, the Red Premier of Russia, told a friend of mine not long ago that he had derived his chief inspiration from, and that the Bolshevist Soviet government was based upon, the ideas of our American product, the I. W. W. It was here in the United States that, as far back as 1905, a movement of wage-earners arose having for its object the substitution of what is now called Soviet Government for political government by parliamentary methods.

Why should the I. W. W. lack faith in our political democracy? Let us rather ask why the men and women of the I. W. W. should have any faith in it; why we should expect them to trust it. The organization is composed mainly of unskilled, migratory workers. The manner of our industrial development and organization requires that there shall be a large army of workers content to "follow the job" as the latter shifts from place to place. Take, for example, the lumber industry. Never was there an industry so important to the life and prosperity of a nation so anarchistically and recklessly carried on. Whole tracts have been swiftly denuded as by some mighty swarm of gigantic locusts, with no regard for the future, no reafforestation, leaving waste lands and dead and

decaying towns and villages behind. This industry has demanded that workers move from place to place, migrating constantly from the freshly denuded tract to the tract marked for devastation and exploitation. Such conditions of employment make rational home life almost impossible. The stability essential to normal and healthy home life is absent. And it makes equally impossible the development of other important essentials, such as, for example, solid, enduring and responsible labor organizations and a strong community attachment and loyalty. The same results of migratory labor, the never-ending movement of armies of workers from job to job, state to state, in response to the imperious demands of our industrial system, inevitably appear elsewhere. The great wheat belt of the northwest wants the army of "Wobblies" only for a short season, and the fruit-lands of sunny California for another short season.

Instead of facing this problem in an earnest and scientific way, we have ignored it whenever we could and, when that was impossible, have turned to the policeman's club or, worse still, the mob-law of "Vigilantes." We have thus developed what is potentially, at any rate, the most dangerous class ever developed in any country, a working class composed of strong, intelligent, self-reliant men virtually excluded from citizenship because disfranchised. Our electoral laws with their residential qualifications disfranchise the migratory workers. They may be, as hundreds of thousands of them are, native born, but they are not in reality citizens since they can never exercise the right to vote. Is it any wonder that men thus deprived of political power have no faith in political action and seek some other method of improving their lot?

* * *

Bolshevism or no Bolshevism, the workers of America, in common with workers elsewhere, will demand an effective share in the management of industry. Industrial Czardom is doomed. Democracy must be applied to industry. If we continue to leave industry outside the scope and influence of democratic control, denying to the workers direct representation in the management and control of their jobs, the result will be a bitter attempt to replace the dictatorship of capital by the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The great lesson for us is that all dictatorship is bad and subversive of democratic civilization. The "dictatorship of the

proletariat" is bad, not because it is proposed that the dictatorship shall be by the proletariat Any other kind of dictatorship would be as bad It is surely significant that the demand for an effective share in industrial management does not come only from the I W. W. and from radical labor organizations like the Machinists' Union, but from the most conservative unions in the country, the railway brotherhoods, demanding a partnership with the State in operation and management of the railways of the nation.

THE BOLSHEVIK SERUM[1]

We Russians are a people that have never worked as freemen. The Russian people has not had the opportunity to develop all its powers and abilities. When I think that the revolution has in it the possibilities to give Russia a chance at free labor and at untrammelled development my heart swells with hope and joy even in these days of blood and wine debauches.

Right here, however, begins the line of decisive and irreconcilable difference between myself and the insane activities of the people's commissaries

I believe that the ideal Maximalism is quite useful for the uncontrollable Russian soul. It can wake in her the long needed activity and stir great desires It can put life into this withered Russian soul, shape it and develop initiative in it.

But the practical Maximalism, the anarcho-communism of the visionaries at the Smolny Institute, is destructive to the country, and especially to the working class. The people's commissaries look upon Russia as material for experiments. The Russian people to them is like the horse which the learned bacteriologist inoculates with typhus bacilli in order to obtain from its blood the curative serum.

The reformers of the Smolny Institute are not concerned with Russia They are calmly sacrificing Russia to their fantasy of a world revolution, or at least a European revolution.

Under present conditions of life in Russia a genuine revolution is unthinkable. You cannot change the 85 per cent of Russia's peasant population, with its ten million foreign speaking nomads, into Socialists overnight.

[1] **By Maxim Gorky. From New York Tribune. July 28, 1919.**

The working class more than any other class of our population will have to bear the brunt of this insane experiment. The working class is the advance guard of the revolution, and in a civil war it will be the working class which will be sent into fire first. When the working class of Russia is thus killed off the best forces of hope for the country are destroyed.

IS BOLSHEVISM ON THE WANE?[1]

So long as the war continued Bolshevism remained to the average man a purely Russian phenomenon Whatever may have been simmering under the surface in other countries did not catch the eye or impress the world as a whole so long as men were engrossed in all-important military matters. In many countries, it is true, there had been manifestations of sympathy for Lenin and Trotski and for Bolshevism in general as a purely revolutionary force, and there were some who even during the war openly proclaimed themselves Bolsheviks. But no such movement showed any real power until it was clear to the world that the greatest danger had been overcome and that the German military machine had been smashed. Until then Liebknecht, the real leader of the Bolsheviks, had been looked on almost with sympathy by those who, with their attention engaged on the rights and wrongs of the war, classed him with Bernstein as an enemy of Prussian Militarism without considering what he ultimately stood for. It was the collapse of the old *régime* in Germany that suddenly opened men's eyes to the existence of a dangerous Bolshevist movement in that country, a movement that stood for the same principles as the Soviet Government in Moscow and advocated the same violent methods for carrying them into effect.

It was not till then that Bolshevism appeared in its true light, not as a Russian, but, as it claimed itself to be, an international movement. The reaction in each country was almost instantaneous. Those who had hitherto failed to grasp the significance of Bolshevism so long as it was isolated in a country so little understood by the general public as Russia rushed to the other extreme and began to denounce the Labour movement in each country as Bolshevik. Some of the speeches made by Coalition candidates on the eve of the General Elec-

[1] From Round Table. No. 35:511-14. June, 1919.

tion showed traces of this misunderstanding, and there were few things that did so much good to the Bolshevist cause in this country as the thoughtless way in which the Labour Party was denounced as Bolshevik and some of its most respected leaders, such as Mr. Henderson, branded as "Bolshies."

Since that time, perhaps, the average man has learnt more. The intoxication of victory has passed and it is to be hoped that many of the unwise things said at the General Election have been forgotten. Bolshevism has for some months past engaged the attention of all thinking men and women in a way it never did before, and, in spite of exaggerations and misstatements about the Russian Bolsheviks that inevitably find their way into the press from time to time, the main facts about Bolshevism are now widely known and there is less tendency to label men as Bolsheviks who both by their words and their actions repudiate all connection with the opprobrious epithet. Yet, if there is still a tendency to confuse anti-Bolshevist Socialists with Bolsheviks, the blame rests partly with the former for not having made their attitude sufficiently clear, and, perhaps for this very reason, an analysis of what has taken place in Russia in the ranks of the Socialist parties may help to clarify the situation so far as Bolshevism and Internationalism are concerned.

Outside Russia the leading Bolshevist movements that have come out into the open and signified their formal alliance with Lenin's Government are the Spartacist movement in Germany, the Communist Government in Buda-Pest and the Italian Official Socialist Party. In other countries, such as France, Holland, Sweden, Norway and even Great Britain, there are small groups that adhere to Bolshevism, but as yet no well-organised party has made its appearance. For the present, therefore, the success of Bolshevism in Europe must be judged by the success of Spartacism in Germany, of Communism in Hungary and in a much less degree of the Official Socialist Party in Italy, though as the last movement has not yet made any bid for power its consideration need not come within the scope of the present article.

Spartacism in Germany since the German Revolution has had rather a different history from Bolshevism in Russia since the Revolution there. It has shown the same energy and violence as its Bolshevist model, and it has had the example of Lenin to guide it, being able to profit as in Russia by the dis-

astrous economic consequences of the war. On the other hand, it has had several disadvantages that Bolshevism in Russia did not have to contend with. The Russian Bolshevists were able to stand for immediate peace while their opponents stood for the continuation of the war; the German Spartacists, on the contrary, are the enemies of peace and it is the conclusion of peace with the Western Powers that the German people want. There is again no acute land question in Germany as in Russia, and the Spartacists are not able to make any appeal to the peasantry that would for the time being bring the majority of the population over to their side. But the most important factor is the strength of the German *bourgeoisie* and the high percentage of educated people in Germany who see through the theories of the Spartacists and do not believe in their experiments. Thus, in spite of their extraordinary energy, the Spartacists have not met with the rapid success which was necessary for them; any delay tells against them and they know it, and there is no doubt that from their point of view they were right in making their bid for power as soon as they did in Germany. In Berlin they made two attempts and on both occasions they were defeated. It was only in Munich that they met with any temporary success, and here too they have now collapsed, leaving behind them a record that will not inspire other parts of Germany to follow their example. There may no doubt be other outbreaks of Spartacism in Germany, but the Spartacists have no leaders of outstanding ability such as Lenin, and the great body of public opinion in Germany, profiting by the lesson of Russia, is solid against them, except as a counsel of utter despair. In Germany, at any rate, unless the Allies deliberately foment it, Bolshevism is discredited and is now on the wane Bolshevism thrives only on success and continuous success, and cannot survive the repeated failures it has already met with in Germany.

In Hungary, too, as far as can be judged at the moment of writing, the Communist Government has ended in a fiasco. It is probably true to say that Communism there was stronger before it came into power than afterwards. The prestige of Count Karolyi's Government had gone, and many people, for purely national reasons, may have been prepared to welcome a new experiment to test its effect on Western Europe. For that very reason there was a feeling of uneasiness in many

quarters lest General Smut's mission to Buda-Pest might increase the prestige of Bela-Kun's fantastic Government, but later events and the firm line of action pursued by the Allies have removed these fears and exposed the inherent weakness of Bolshevism when faced with any armed force backed by a determined Government The failure of Bolshevism both in Germany and Hungary has gone far to ruin Bolshevist prestige in Europe; and Bolshevism is finding itself more and more driven back into Russia, there to defend itself against the population over which it has tyrannised so ruthlessly for more than eighteen months.

LABOR PARTIES

WHY A LABOR PARTY?[1]

Why a Labor party? Again and again groups of belligerent American wage-earners have attempted to break into politics, but hitherto American workers have refused to be weaned from trustful allegiance to the Republican or Democratic parties The anti-political and purely syndicalist policy of the American Federation of Labor derives from a recollection of the past futility and danger to American labor of political agitation, from fear that such agitation will divide the workers against one another and from a conviction of the salutary effect on the unity of the labor movement of an exclusive policy of direct class trade union action. Are there sound reasons for believing that these considerations are losing their force?

In our opinion there are such reasons. In the past the relation of the American laborer to his employer and his employer's business was vastly more important to him than his relations to the government. Although the state frequently interfered in industrial controversies and almost always to the disadvantage of the wage-earner, the state was not his worst enemy: nor was its friendship indispensable. The wage-earner was struggling tenaciously to maintain himself against the powerful employers' organizations and against the competition of a constantly increasing volume of European immigration He was not strong enough to put up a political as well as an industrial fight and unless he selected his ground prudently and paid careful attention to the economic stamina of his union associates he was in danger of suffering a complete defeat. Under such conditions the American Federation of Labor may have been justified in eschewing politics and in concentrating its attention on organizing the skilled trades and fighting exclusively for the increased economic power of its own limited membership. During the last few years these conditions have

[1] New Republic. 18:397-400. April 26, 1919.

changed. The American Federation of Labor is no longer the harried and almost outlawed organization that it was for so many years. The federal government recognized it during the war and asked its co-operation in organizing the production of the necessary volume of war supplies. Immigration has ceased and will not return to its former volume. The wage-earning class won a substantial increase in economic power and independence. No doubt the relation of the wage-earners to their employers is still of more importance to them than their relation to the state, but under the new conditions the attempt to keep the two relationships separate will suffer from manifest artificialities. The government interferes in all considerable industrial controversies, and this interference has only begun. When the wage-earners demand union recognition, a universal eight-hour day, a national minimum of health and security and the nationalization of the railroads and the coal mines, they are putting forth a programme with political aspects whose fulfillment will depend in the end upon their ability to exercise political power.

If the American Federation of Labor does not recognize the meaning of these changes and assist instead of opposing the formation of an American Labor party, it will in the long run forfeit its leadership of the American wage-earner. The conditions are favorable and the time has come for the American worker to take the aggressive, and to insist on those changes in our political institutions which will vindicate his claim to industrial citizenship. American labor leaders have preached for years the doctrine that wage-earners should not be treated as a commodity. They have organized and agitated and fought in order to force on industrial managers the recognition of wage-earners as human beings whose welfare should not be subordinated to the making of profits. They must continue to organize, to agitate, to negotiate and to strike for the purpose of insisting on the prior claim of their needs as human beings upon the product and process of industry. Indirect political action, as they know, affords no substitute for direct action. But the converse is also true. If they try by direct action alone to prevent labor from being treated as a commodity, they will either fail or they will land in revolution. The reorganization of American social and industrial life for the purpose of subordinating the mechanical and capitalistic element in industry to the human element is in large part a

political problem. The wage-earners cannot trust the Democratic and Republican parties to carry on the work. Its accomplishment demands the co-operation of the hand and brain workers of the nation, consciously organized and educated for participation in this essentially political task.

The existing industrial situation illustrates the need of supplementing direct with political action. During the war the wage-earners benefitted by an inexhaustible demand for commodities which enabled them to obtain uninterrupted employment at increased wages. Since the end of the war the demand for commodities particularly in the metal industries has diminished. The volume of production has diminished with the demand. The price of metal products is coming down and will come down still further. Hitherto no general reduction of wages has taken place, but many wage-earners are being discharged and employers are insisting upon lower wages as a necessary corollary of lower prices. But if wages are lowered and unemployment increased, even though rent, food, clothing remain at their present high prices, the industrial management of the country will have treated labor as a commodity. They will sacrifice the public interest in maintaining high standards of living to the avoiding of losses or the making of profits. What else can the managers of particular industries do? They can, of course, devote much more intelligence and consideration to handling the problem of hiring and firing and dealing with their employees than they have done in the past, but they cannot risk bankruptcy by operating at a loss. The better employers are frequently obliged to follow the example of less scrupulous competitors and to ask their employees to choose between work under hard conditions at low wages or no work at all. The opponents of political action expect by striking to prevent such a clear assertion of the principle that labor is a commodity, and under prevailing conditions the strike is a more powerful weapon than formerly. But the strike is not a powerful weapon for the unskilled workers outside of the A. F. of L., and by basing their whole campaign on it the wage-earners will accomplish their end, if at all, with a maximum of loss, bitterness of feeling and social friction. Another supplementary way of breaking down the time-honored practice of treating labor as a commodity is to follow the example of the English workers and seek the sanction of law for certain national minimum standards of work, wages and union recog-

nition. The legalizing of such standards, and the industrial reorganization which must accompany it, is a task of industrial statesmanship in which the workers organized and educated for participation in politics must co-operate, and which the politicians will evade unless labor prepares for effective political action

They cannot trust the job to the Republican and Democratic parties. Both of the older parties are committed by the instinct of self-preservation to prevent the adoption by the state of a principle which would be so subversive of existing privileges as that of testing the management of industry by its success in promoting the welfare of the wage-earners as human beings. The Democrats in their anti-trust legislation affirmed the principle that labor was not a commodity, but the affirmation in question was a perfect example of the gold bricks with which politicians are always willing to placate get-rich-quick social or labor reformers. Since 1868 when reforming agitation started in this country, the political machines of the two parties, by keeping in their own hands the framing and carrying out of "progressive" legislation, have frustrated every attempt to liberate American politics and business from subservience to special interests. The agitation of the last fifty years has, indeed, clipped the wings of the state and national political "bosses." It has hampered the accumulation of fortunes such as those of the Rockefeller and Vanderbilt families. But it has not removed any of the fundamental abuses of American politics or business. Future agitation will not succeed any better until it undermines the governing power of the political and business machines As long as they continue to exercise control over politics and business the whole system of privilege is safe. The machine bosses can always yield, as they have so frequently yielded in the past, to temporary pressure; but if they participate in drawing the legislation and control its administration they know they cannot come to serious harm. The social ideals of the working class will never have a chance of success as long as the country is governed by two national parties, the underlying object of whose machines necessarily is to keep political and economic power in the safe custody of its present possessors.

If the American wage-earner wishes, consequently, to humanize American industry he must organize for this partly political task by qualifying and equipping himself to become a

power in politics He is learning the futility of political democracy unless sustained by industrial democracy; but he has still to learn the other half of the lesson. Industrial democracy needs to be sustained by the practice of political democracy. Effective political democracy for the wage-earner demands the organization of a national party of brain and hand workers to conduct constitutional agitation on behalf of those larger modifications of American institutions which are required by industrial democracy. By entering into politics in the interest of their own programme they will act in obedience to the American democratic tradition which is that of using political agitation as an indispensable educational agency of social adjustment It is the alternative method of banking on a combination of direct action plus the solicitation of concessions and favors from the lords of party politics which carries with it the dangerous and subversive consequences. For the politicians will frustrate labor progressivism just as they have frustrated all the other progressive movements of the last fifty years. When they realize they are being fooled, the labor unions will become exasperated and insurgent. They may succumb to the temptation of enforcing their demands by such extreme forms of direct action as a general strike, and in a nation whose political constitution is as rigid as that of the United States a general strike or a strike in a group of key industries might lead to revolution.

Considering the predestined increase in power of the wage-earners and the substantial justice of their demands for the humanization of industry, it is of the utmost importance for themselves and for the nation that they organize and educate themselves for effective political action The one agency of effective political action is a national party organization By forming a Labor party they will at once clarify their own programme, deposit it on the table for nation-wide and serious political discussion, and assume the responsibility of adjusting the programme to that of the other economic classes. The political effort of organizing a Labor party will tend to nationalize the American labor movement. It will force the trade-unionists to seek the assistance of the unskilled workers, of the increasing body of co-operatives and of the minority of brain workers who wish to share the aspirations and would like to contribute to the success of their brothers-in-labor. But above all it will force them to adjust their programme to

that of the discontented farmers who form such a large part of the American electorate and whose own economic grievances the political parties have so often smothered. For the first time in the history of American politics, the clear political possibility exists of an alliance between the representatives of agrarian and industrial discontent. A national Labor party which emphatically repudiates revolutionary socialism and which commits itself to an experimental programme of industrial and agrarian co-operative democracy, re-enforced by democratic community organization and so far as necessary by direct trade-union action, has become a necessary and a salutary agency of American social progress.

SHOULD A POLITICAL LABOR PARTY BE FORMED?[1]

The following address by President Gompers was fully considered by the executive council of the American Federation of Labor and unanimously indorsed. The address expresses the judgment of the executive council to protect and to promote the best interests of the workers and of the labor movement of America. It conforms to the letter and spirit of the provisions of the constitution of the American Federation of Labor, Article III, section 8:

"Party politics, whether they be Democratic, Republican, Socialistic, Populistic, Prohibition, or any other, shall have no place in the conventions of the American Federation of Labor."

While local and central bodies and state federations may enter into the political field, either independently or otherwise, it is not within their province to form or become part of a national political party. (Adopted by the executive council of the American Federation of Labor at its meeting held in New York City on Dec. 28, 1918.)

In the last few weeks there have been published certain situations which exist and certain movements which were about to be inaugurated. In a few of the cities that situation and that movement have become accentuated. In Chicago, New

[1] From an address by Samuel Gompers, President American Federation of Labor. Reprint, Hearings, Committee on Education, U. S. Senate on Senate Resolution 382. January 4, 1919 Washington, D. C.

York City, and two or three places the labor movement has expressed itself through the central bodies in favor of the formation of a political labor party.

No man has the right to look upon such a move lightly, or without deep consideration or deep concern. Either the proposed movement about to be inaugurated for the establishment of a political labor party is good, or it is bad. Either it is advantageous or it is injurious, and the purpose of my asking that we meet this afternoon is to present to you some facts upon that subject.

You who were in the movement of long ago will remember that to which I refer. We had in the United States a fairly growing labor movement of some trade unionists in some form of a federation called the National Labor Union. That organization went along, inspired good spirit and activity among the workers, and then called a national convention for the purpose of nominating a President of the United States. That convention met and nominated Justice David Davis, a justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, as its candidate for President, and after nominating Mr. Davis adjourned and never met again. The trade unions then in existence fell off in membership until the organizations became very weak and ineffective. Some organizations fell by the wayside. Labor was in a most deplorable condition, without opportunity for defense and robbed entirely of any power to press forward its rightful claims.

In 1885-86, after a few years of precarious early existence, the American Federation of Labor tried to build up and extend its influence and organize the workers into their unions.

In 1884 the American Federation of Labor declared for the introduction of the eight-hour workday, May 1, 1886. It proposed negotiations with the employers to the accomplishment of that high purpose. The movement gained great impetus and large advantages followed, but on May 2 or 3, 1886, a bomb was thrown at a meeting which was being held at Haymarket Square, Chicago, which killed and maimed more than 20 policemen. The meeting was supposed to have been held in the interest of the eight-hour movement. The wrath of the people which was aroused against those in charge of the Haymarket meeting gave the eight-hour day a severe blow and set-back. However, the eight-hour day was secure for the workers in several industries and a reduction in the hours of labor from

16 to 12 or from 12 to 10 became almost universal in the United States. But the eight-hour movement as such was destroyed for the time being.

Due in part to that incident and to the resentment of the workers because they had lost so much that they could have obtained and due to certain local conditions, political rather than economic, in various cities the local movement undertook political campaigns and organized a political party in Chicago, Milwaukee, St Louis, Boston, and New York This resulted in the organized labor movement of New York City launching into a campaign which nominated Henry George as mayor of the city. It was my privilege to enter into that campaign with the men (there are a few of them in this room now) who were active at the time. I aided to the very best of my ability. Henry George received 68,000 votes and came very near election. Some claim that he was really elected, but that in the last hours many of the supporters of Theodore Roosevelt who was the mayoralty candidate of the Republican Party abandoned him and cast their votes for Abram S. Hewitt, who was the Democratic candidate for mayor.

After the campaign closed and the election was held, the movement took on another phase. It was called the Progressive Labor Party. They admitted to membership not only the men of organized labor but what had popularly been called by a great many the "brain with brawn" or "brain with labor." The campaign was carried on with such scandalous results, that nearly all the men of labor who had some self-respect had to hold themselves in the background for fear that they might be besmirched with the incidents which occurred in the campaign.

In Germany, the trade-union movement having been dissolved by Bismarck and the organizations of labor not having the right to exist, went to its death for the time. Then, when there was a slight moderation of that order, the trade-union movement of that country was organized from the top down. There were executive officers who imposed their will upon the rank and file. There was no democracy of administration, of construction, or of the right of the membership to determine policies. Benefits were paid by the officers of the general organization. These officers had the power to determine whether the workers were entitled to the insurance and other benefits. It was a matter of power vested in the executives. You can imagine how necessary it was for the rank and file to endeavor

to curry favor with the executives in order that they might not be discriminated against unfairly.

In 1905 I was in Hamburg and Bremen, in consultation with the officers of the general labor movement of Germany, among whom were Legien and Von Elm. They were not permitted to hold public meetings dealing with any subject affecting labor or the government Before I reached there Mr. Von Elm, with whom I had been in correspondence because he belonged to the Cigarmakers' International Union here of which I am a member, invited me to deliver an address in German in a public meeting before 5,000 or 10,000 persons, but it was necessary for me to address them in German, because an address in any other language but German would not be permitted. I could speak and read German but I did not feel competent to deliver an address in the German language before a gathering of 5,000 or 10,000 people. I was afraid of my own weakness and that possibly by reason of grammatical errors some might say: "Well, if he can not speak he ought not to try to speak to us," and thereby discount anything I might say. Therefore, I declined it.

They agreed, however, to call a social gathering. Invitations were sent out to 132 people to attend. The full number responded. I spoke to them in the German language, but the meeting was secret. The unions were struggling for the right to meet as unions and to have the guaranty of the law for their legal right to maintain their organizations and to hold such meetings; in other words, the right of free association. I had the assurance of Von Elm, Legien and others that the Socialist Political Party of Germany denied the demand made by the trade-unions to work to secure from the Government a law guaranteeing the workers the right to organize as a free association of workers. The Socialist Political Party of Germany, which is the only political party claiming to be the workmen's party, denied the union-labor movement of Germany the right to take political action in order to secure the lawful right for its existence.

The French organized-labor movement is not extensive. Some of the most completely organized unions are wholly out of touch with the Confederation Generale du Travail—that is, the French Federation of Labor—because they want to exercise their individual right of trade-unionisms and trade-union action. To interallied labor conference in London in

September there came a delegation from France of three or four men representing the French Federation of Labor and then a delegation of about 7, 8, or 10 representing the Majority Socialist Party of France and about the same number representing the Minority Socialist Party. The vote of the delegation was divided between the Majority and Minority Socialist Parties and the French Federation of Labor. The political party dominates the trade-union movement of France.

In England there is the British Trade Union Congress, the British Federation of Trade Unions, and the Labor Party. For the discussion of business when the conventions of either party are not in session, they meet jointly in conference through the parliamentary committee of the British Trade Union Congress and the executive committee of the Labor Party. Quite a number of the members of the parliamentary committee of the British Trade Union Congress are members of the Labor Party, and quite a number of them who hold their seats in Parliament are members of the Labor Party. As a matter of fact, the executive committee of the Labor Party dominates the entire movement of England.

At a conference held at Derby, England, in September, 1918, the executive officers of the Labor Party presided and dominated the proceedings. And all the time that I was in England I never heard of a phrase like this: "The British trade-union movement and the Labor Party." I never heard it said: "The parliamentary committee of the British Trade Union Congress and the executive committee of the Labor Party." It was always the Labor Party and the Trade Union Congress. The Labor Party of England dominates the labor movement of England.

When the interallied labor conference opened in London, September 17, early in the morning there were sent over to my room at the hotel cards which were intended to be the credential cards for our delegation to sign and hand in as our credentials. The card read something like this: "The undersigned is a duly accredited delegate to the interallied socialist conference to be held at London," etc., and giving the dates.

I refused to sign my name, or permit my name to be put upon any card of that character. My associates were as indignant as I was and refused to sign any such credential. We went to the hall where the conference was to be held. There was a young lady at the door. When we made an effort to

enter she asked for our cards. We said we had no cards to present. "Well," the answer came, "you can not be admitted." We replied: "That may be true, we can not be admitted, but we will not sign any such card. We have our credentials written out, signed, and sealed, and will present them to any committee of the conference for scrutiny and recommendation, but we are not going to sign such a card."

Mr. Charles Bowerman, secretary of the parliamentary committee of the British trade-union congress, at that moment emerged from the door He asked why we had not entered. I told him the situation, and he persuaded the young lady to permit us to pass in We entered the hall and presented our credentials. Mr James Sexton, officer and representative of the Dockers' Union of Liverpool, arose and called the attention of the conference to this situation, and declared that the American Federation of Labor delegates refused to sign any such document He said that it was not an interallied Socialist conference, but an interallied Socialist and labor conference.

Mr. Arthur Henderson, of the Labor Party, made an explanation something to this effect, if my memory serves me:

"It is really regrettable that such an error should have been made, but it has been made. It was due to the fact that the old card of credentials which had been used in former conferences was sent to the printer, no one paying any attention to it, and thinking it was all right."

I want to call your attention to the significance of that explanation That is, that the trade-union movement of Great Britain was represented at these former conferences, but at this conference the importance of labor was regarded as so insignificant that everybody took it for granted that it was perfectly all right to have the credential card read, "Interallied Socialist conference," and with the omission of this more important term "labor."

The fact is that an independent political labor party becomes either radical, so called, or else reactionary, but it is primarily devoted to one thing, and that is vote getting. Every sail is trimmed to the getting of votes. The question of the conditions of labor, the question of the standards of labor, the question of the struggles and the sacrifices of labor to bring light into the lives and the work of the toilers—all that is subordinated to the one consideration of votes for the party.

I have read the 14 points which have been formulated for the proposed labor party here. Is there one of them of an essential character to the interests and welfare of the working people of the United States which is not contained in the curriculum, the work and the principles of the bona fide labor movement of our country?

Which movement, economic or political, in any country on the face of the globe has brought more hope and encouragement, more real advantage, to the working people than the trade-union movement of America has brought to the wage earning masses of our country?

The organization of a political labor party would simply mean the dividing of the activities and allegiance of the men and women of labor between two bodies, such as would often come in conflict.

In the British Trade-Union Congress at Derby there were divergent views. There were four different points of view upon one subject before the congress. In order to try to unite the thought a committee of four was appointed for the purpose of trying to bring in some agreed proposition and recommendation for adoption by the congress In the course of a few days the committee reported a resolution For the purpose of conserving time the four members of the committee representing the divergent views were called upon in turn to express their views. Each in turn expressed his own view and placed his own construction upon the resolution recommended. Then each declared that he was going out to fight for his own view.

In our movement we have done some things. We have brought together more than 3,000,000 workers, organized into our trade-unions and belonging to the American Federation of Labor. In addition there are between four and five hundred thousand workmen in the railroad brotherhoods not affiliated with us but yet in accord with our work and our policies. In other words, there are nearly 4,000,000 of organized trade-unionists in the United States. There is not always harmony; there is disagreement; there is opposition, all of it important, all of it tending to crystallize the sentiment of unity and devotion to the cause of labor. The American labor movement occupies the field of activity without yielding one inch to any other body.

Mr. Longuet, representing the majority Socialists of France at the interallied labor conference in London, expressed his regret that what he called the American Socialist Party was not represented in the conference. He proposed that the votes of the American Federation of Labor delegates should be reduced because the American Socialist Party was not represented.

Who are we going to have as the leaders of this new political labor party? I understand that there is impatience among our fellows. It is creditable to them that they are impatient. There is not any man in all America, or in all the world, more impatient than I with the progress that has been made, with the position we occupy. I want more, more, more for labor. I think I have tried and am trying to do my share. My associates of the executive council have tried to do their share, but there is such a thing as attempting to overrun, and by overrunning to defeat the object we would gain for the wage earners and to throw them into the hands of those who do not know the honest aspirations of labor or who would direct them for personal aggrandizement.

I ask that the trade-union movement be given its fullest opportunity for growth and development so that it may be the instrumentality to secure better and better and better and constantly better conditions for the workers of our country

Here we are in this transition period from war into peace, with all that it may mean. A week ago last evening—that is, on Sunday evening, December 1—at the Century Theater, I delivered an address. I am proud of the address I delivered there on that night. I do not think that anyone realizes all the dangers which I felt and tried to express as to the situation now and which may arise in the near future. I ask you whether the creation of a political labor party, and particularly at this time, would help to solve these problems and meet these dangerous conditions? If ever unity was needed for the toilers it is now.

It is not true, as some carping critics allege, that the American Federation of Labor is a nonpolitical organization. As a matter of fact, the workers of the United States and the organized labor movement act voluntarily in the exercise of their political right and power. We have changed the control of our government from the old-time interests of corporate power and judicial usurpation. We have secured from the

Government of the United States the labor provision of the Clayton antitrust law, the declaration in the law that the labor of a human being is not a commodity or article of commerce. In that law we have secured the right of our men to exercise functions for which, under the old régime our men were brought before the bar of justice and fined or imprisoned. We have secured the eight-hour workday, not only as a basic principal but as a fact. We have secured the seamen's law, giving to the seamen the freedom to leave their vessels when in safe harbor. The seamen of America are now free men and own themselves. We have secured a child-labor law, and although it has been declared unconstitutional, we are again at work to secure a law for the protection of our children. Better than all, we have established the concept in law and in administration that the interest and welfare of the workers are paramount, and this not only in the laws of our Republic but in the laws of our States and municipalities.

There are other laws in the interest of labor which we have secured, more than I can mention offhand, but far above these are the improvements brought into the lives and work of the toilers by their own actions as organized workers. We have established unity of spirit; we have brought about the extension of organization among the formerly unorganized, and our organized free existence to function and to express ourselves is now practically unquestioned.

Suppose in 1912 we had had a labor party in existence; do you think for a moment that we could have gone as the American labor movement to the other political parties and said: "We want you to inaugurate in your platform this and this declaration." If one of the parties had refused and the other party consented and took its chance, would the American Federation of Labor have been permitted to exercise that independent political and economic course if the labor party had been in existence? How long would we have had to wait for the passage of a law by Congress declaring law, in practice and in principle that the labor of a human being is not a commodity or an article of commerce—the most far-reaching declaration ever made by any government in the history of the world.

I say this to you. I am sixty-eight years of age I have been tried and seared as few men have. I have almost had my very soul

burned in the trials of life. With my two associates, Mr. Mitchell and Mr. Morrison, I have suffered the indignity of being brought before the courts of our country and adjudged guilty and sentenced to imprisonment. Our eyes were wide open. I do not think that it is improper for me to say that I led in the thought and activity of that work, of that willingness to suffer, but it was not a very nice thing to have the endeavor made to besmirch our honor by a sentence of imprisonment—Mr. Morrison six months, Mr. Mitchell nine months, and I twelve months. We fought that sentence, fought it and fought it, supported by the activity of the organized labor movement in all the states and towns of our country, until the principle for which we were contending through that action brought about the incorporation of those provisions in the Clayton antitrust law which confirmed and legalized the very things for which we were sentenced to imprisonment. They were legalized not for us alone but for labor.

I repeat, we have secured the enactment of the seamen's law, the right of a seaman to quit his vessel whenever his vessel is in safe harbor in any part of the world, a law which does not exist in any other country—secured it by our political activity and by our economic powers. Has anything like that been accomplished in any country of the world? Our delegates proposed it at the interallied labor conference in September, and there was not a hearty agreement to stand for it as an international demand.

I know I feel and understand and apprehend the danger which is involved in the project which is now being so very actively agitated in some quarters of the labor movement of our country I fear no danger, I am just as good a follower, perhaps a better follower, than I am a leader, and I am perfectly willing to occupy either position I would be recreant to the great labor movement and all it portends now and for the future if I did not take you into my confidence, men and women of labor, and tell you what I have told you. I am apprehensive, justly so, justified by every event in the whole history of labor, that a great mistake may be made, a great injury inflicted upon our fellows, not for a day, not for a year, not for a decade, but perhaps for many, many, many years to come. I want to present that view to you so that you may understand the situation clearly.

THE BRITISH LABOUR PARTY[1]

(Formerly Labour Representation Committee)

With the adoption of its new constitution the Labour Party has been transformed from a Federation, consisting of Trade Unions, Socialist Societies, Co-operative Societies, Trades Councils, local labour Parties, and the Women's Labour League, into a national political party, membership in which is open to every man and woman who accept the Party's programme and agree with its aims. In view of the large number of voters added to the register under the Representation of the People Act, it was felt to be necessary that the basis of membership in the Labour Party should be broadened so as to include the large body of people who were, for various reasons, neither members of a Trade Union nor of a Socialist Society. Under the old constitution it was possible for individual men and women to become associated with the Party by joining a local Labour Party, but in general the principle of individual membership in the local organizations had been practically ignored. The new constitution makes individual membership a cardinal point of the scheme. It also affords special facilities to women electors to join the Party. The Women's Labour League, which was the only political organization of women affiliated to the Labour Party, has ceased to exist as a separate body, and its members have become merged in the local Labour organizations.

The revised constitution put forward by the National Executive at the Annual Conference in Nottingham in January, 1918, and adopted with practical unanimity at the adjourned Conference held in London a month later, preserves the character of the Party as a federation of national societies and local organizations, but establishes the principle of individual membership in the latter bodies. These constituent organizations will henceforth be composed of affiliated Trade Union branches, the local Trades Council, the Socialist Societies, and the Co-operative Societies having members within the area, and of individual men and women who are willing to work for the objects and subscribe to the constitution of the National Labour Party. In places where the local Labour Parties and Trades Councils have amalgamated, or where no Trades Coun-

[1] From Labour Year Book, 1919. p. 3-4.

cil exists, the constitution provides for the local Labour Party to discharge the functions of a Trades Council, and it is anticipated that in the course of time all the forces of Labour in every Parliamentary constituency will be united, and that the local Labour Party will be the unit of organization. The rights of representation enjoyed by the Trade Unions, Socialist Societies, Co-operative Societies, Trade Councils, and local Labour Parties have been preserved, but the new constitution confers upon the individual members a stated share in the local and national councils of the Party.

The date of the Annual Party Conference has been changed from January to June. It will be constituted, as hitherto, of delegates representing the affiliated Trade Unions and other societies, on the basis of one for each 1,000 members; of the local Labour Party delegates, who may be either men or women; borough and county constituencies returning one Member to Parliament may send one Labour party delegate to the Party Conference, undivided boroughs returning two Members to Parliament may send two, and divided boroughs may send one delegate for each constituency in the area, the Central Labour Party in such boroughs having the power also to send one delegate. An additional woman delegate must be appointed if the number of affiliated and individual woman members in the local organization exceeds 500. The members of the National Executive of the party, including the Treasurer, the members of the Parliamentary Party, and the duly sanctioned Parliamentary candidates have the right to attend the Conference ex-officio, but have no power to vote unless they are chosen as delegates.

INDUSTRIAL RECONSTRUCTION PROGRAMS

PROGRAM OF THE BRITISH LABOUR PARTY[1]

The report on the general policy of the Party[2] (which was adopted in a series of embodying resolutions at the Conference of June, 1918) dealing with reconstruction covers a very wide range of problems. It lays down the doctrine that what has to be reconstructed after the War is not this or that Government Department or piece of social machinery, but society itself. This party declares that whether in opposition or in office it will not tolerate the revival of the social and economic system which the War has destroyed, but will seek to build up a new social order based on a deliberately planned co-operation in production and distribution for the benefit of all who labour by hand or by brain. Four propositions are laid down in the Memorandum upon which the Party proposes to establish the democratic control of all the activities of society:—

(a) The universal enforcement of the national minimum;
(b) The democratic control of industry;
(c) The revolution in national finance; and
(d) the surplus wealth for the common good.

Applying the first principle, the Labour Party proclaims its resolve to secure for every member of the community, both in good times and bad, all the requisites of a healthy life and worthy citizenship. It proposes to do this by enforcing the universal application of the policy of a prescribed minimum of health, leisure, education, and subsistence by the extension of such legislation as the Factory Acts, Truck Acts, Public Health Acts, Housing Acts, Education Acts, Minimum Wage Acts, and Trade Board Acts.

The policy of the Party in regard to the problems of demobilization is briefly to ensure that the demobilization and

1 From Labour Year Book. 1919. p. 17-20.

2 "Labour and the New Social Order."

discharge of the eight million wage-earners now in the fighting forces or engaged in war work shall be so regulated as to avert the peril of widespread unemployment involving the whole wage-earning class in economic ruin. The Party insists that the obligation to find suitable employment in productive work for all these men and women is national, and that until work is found it is the duty of the Government in the interest of the community as a whole to provide them with adequate maintenance, either through the out-of-work benefit afforded by the Trade Unions or in some other way.

In order to prevent the occurrence of unemployment, either in the course of demobilization or in the first years of peace, the Party urges that all necessary preparations should be made by the Government for putting in hand at once, directly or through the local authorities, urgently needed public works, including the building of a million new cottages, new schools, and training colleges; the making of new roads, railways, canals; afforestation, the reclamation of land, the development of ports and harbours; and the establishment of co-operative small holdings; whilst steps ought also to be taken, for the purpose of relieving pressure upon an overstocked labour market, to raise the school-leaving age to 16 and substantially to shorten the hours of labour for all young people, to reduce wherever practicable the hours of adult labour; and to limit the amount of overtime.

The policy of the Party as applied to industry contemplates a great extension of the principle of democratic control. It demands the progressive elimination of the private capitalist from the control of industry and the scientific reorganization of the nation's industry on the basis of the common general ownership of the means of production, the equitable sharing of the proceeds among all who participate in any capacity, and the adoption of such methods of administration and control as experience has shown to be practicable and necessary.

The Party's policy of nationalization is applied not only to great undertakings like railways, mines, shipping, canals, and the like, and to the great super-power stations for the production of electricity which are in contemplation, but to the whole business of retail distribution of commodities like household coal and milk; and the Party also demands that the activities of the profit-making industrial insurance companies

shall be undertaken by the Departments charged with the administration of health insurance in its various aspects.

In the sphere of political reforms the Labour party demands complete adult suffrage with absolutely equal rights for both sexes, shorter Parliaments, and the same civic rights for soldiers and sailors as for officers. For the complete emancipation of women it affirms the principle of equal pay for equal work on the industrial side and full equality of civic rights with men.

In education the Labour Party is not satisfied with the meagre advance made by the Act of 1918 It demands a systematic reorganization of the whole system on a basis of social equality. For this, education must be provided for child, youth, and adult, schools and colleges, irrespective of social class and wealth, must be regarded solely from the point of educational efficiency, and the teaching profession, without distinction of grade, must be recognized as one of the most valuable to the community.

In the matter of temperance reform the Party proclaims the policy of public right, which it proposes to assert over the liquor traffic by giving localities power to prohibit the sale of liquor within their boundaries, to regulate the conditions under which liquor may be sold, and to determine how the popular refreshment houses shall be conducted.

In housing the Labour Party considers it essential that all funds should be supplied and all plans should be made ready for the provision of a million new houses immediately on the outbreak of Peace

Standing, as it does, for the democratic control of industry, the Labour Party announces its intention of resisting any attempt to abandon the present profitable centralization of the importation and distribution of raw material used in indispensable industries, and will insist upon maintaining the elaborate system of costing and public audit which has been set up.

The Party's proposals for dealing with the problems of national finance involve the institution of a system of taxation designed to obtain the revenue necessary for meeting war charges and the cost of reconstruction from the largest incomes and the biggest private fortunes. It proposes that the income tax and supertax should be levied in such a way as to make the real sacrifice of all the taxpayers as nearly as possible equal, raising the present unduly low minimum income

assessable to the tax and steeply graduating the scale of taxation from 1d. in the £ (pound) on the smallest assessable income up to 16s. or even 19s. in the £ (pound) on the highest income of the millionaires. To free the nation from the greater part of its new load of interest-bearing debt for loans the Labour Party proposes a special capital levy to pay off a substantial part of the entire National Debt, chargeable like the death duties on all property, with exemption of the smallest savings and with very steeply graduated rates which will take only a small contribution from the people with small incomes and a very much larger percentage from the wealthy.

In the interests not only of the wage-earners, but of every grade and section of producers the absorption of the wealth of the community by individual proprietors must in future be stopped, and the Party proposes that this constantly arising surplus wealth, to be secured on the one hand by the steeply graduated taxation of private income and riches, shall be used for social purposes; including provision for the aged, the sick and infirm, for the establishment of a genuine national system of education, and for the organization of public improvements of all kinds, including a great development of the means of recreation for the people, the encouragement of scientific investigation and original research in every branch of knowledge, and for the promotion of music, literature, and the fine arts.

Upon the broader problems of political reconstruction the Labour Party stands for a repudiation of the Imperialism which seeks to dominate other races and countries, and looks forward to an ever-increasing intercourse, a constantly developing exchange of commodities, a steadily growing mutual understanding, and a continually expanding friendly co-operation among all the peoples of the world. Not only does it demand Home Rule for Ireland immediately. It presses also for separate legislative assemblies for Scotland, Wales, and even England. Indeed, the development of a system of Home Rule all round, within the Empire, and the fullest possible extension of the principle of democratic self-government is an essential feature of the Labour Party policy, which safeguards the absolute autonomy of each self-governing part of the Empire, while it also permits a continuous participation by Ministers of the Dominions, of India, and eventually of other dependencies, in the control of foreign policy and Imperial affairs.

Beyond the maintenance of the British Empire in harmony with these principles, the Labour Party looks for the immediate establishment of a universal League or Society of Nations with suitable machinery for judicial arbitration and conciliation, which will enable the nations to settle their disputes with one another without resort to war. In relation to foreign countries the Labour Party disclaims all idea of economic war; it objects to all protective customs tariffs; it believes that nations are in no way damaged by one another's economic prosperity or commercial progress; and it looks ultimately to the establishment of universal Free Trade as one of the ultimate safeguards of world peace.

The Party stands for the abolition of secret diplomacy, the control of foreign policy by Parliament, and the substitution of a policy of international co-operation for the policy of the balance of power involving the creation of hostile alliances and combinations.

RECONSTRUCTION PROGRAM, NATIONAL CATHOLIC WAR COUNCIL (UNITED STATES) [1]

Social Reconstruction

"Reconstruction" has of late been so tiresomely reiterated, not to say violently abused, that it has become to many of us a word of aversion. Politicians, social students, labor leaders, business men, charity workers, clergymen, and various other social groups have contributed their quota of spoken words and printed pages to the discussion of the subject; yet the majority of us still find ourselves rather bewildered and helpless. We are unable to say what parts of our social system imperatively need reconstruction; how much of that which is imperatively necessary is likely to be seriously undertaken; or what specific methods and measures are best suited to realize that amount of reconstruction which is at once imperatively necessary and immediately feasible.

Nevertheless, it is worth while to review briefly some of the more important statements and proposals that have been made by various social groups and classes. Probably the most notable declaration from a Catholic source is that contained in a

pastoral letter, written by Cardinal Bourne several months ago. "It is admitted on all hands," he says, "that a new order of things, new social conditions, new relations between the different sections in which society is divided, will arise as a consequence of the destruction of the formerly existing conditions. * * * The very foundations of political and social life, of our economic system, of morals, and religion are being sharply scrutinized, and this not only by a few writers and speakers, but by a very large number of people in every class of life, especially among the workers."

The Cardinal's special reference to the action of labor was undoubtedly suggested by the now famous "Social Reconstruction Program" of the British Labor Party. This document was drawn up about one year ago, and is generally understood to be the work of the noted economist and Fabian Socialist, Mr. Sidney Webb. Unquestionably, it is the most comprehensive and coherent program that has yet appeared on the industrial phase of reconstruction. In brief, it sets up "four pillars" of the new social order.

1. The enforcement by law of a national minimum of leisure, health, education, and subsistence;

2. The democratic control of industry, which means the nationalization of all monopolistic industries and possibly of other industries, some time in the future, if that course be found advisable;

3. A revolution in national finance—that is, a system of taxation which will compel capital to pay for the war, leaving undisturbed the national minimum of welfare for the masses;

4. Use of the surplus wealth of the Nation for the common good—that is, to provide capital, governmental industries, and funds for social, educational, and artistic progress

This program may properly be described as one of immediate radical reforms, involving a rapid approach toward complete socialism.

Program of American Labor

In the United States three prominent labor bodies have formulated rough sketches of reconstruction plans. The Californian State Federation of Labor demands a legal minimum wage, Government prevention of unemployment, vocational education of discharged soldiers and sailors, Government control and management of all waterways, railroads, telegraphs, tele-

phones and public utilities generally, opening up of land to co-operative and small holdings, and payment of the war debt by a direct tax on incomes and inheritances. "Common ownership of the means of production" is also set down in the program, but is not sufficiently emphasized to warrant the conclusion that the authors seriously contemplate the early establishment of complete socialism.

The State Federation of Labor of Ohio calls for a legal minimum wage, insurance against sickness, accidents, and unemployment, old-age pensions, heavy taxation of land values, and reclamation and leasing of swamp lands; and Government ownership and management of railroads, telegraphs, telephones, merchant marine, coal and metal mines, oil and gas wells, pipe lines, and refineries.

The Chicago Federation of Labor has organized an Independent Labor Party and adopted a platform of "14 points." The principal demands are an eight-hour day and a minimum family living wage; reduction of the cost of living through co-operative enterprises and methods; Government prevention of unemployment and insurance on life, limb, health, and property; Government ownership and operation of railways and all other public utilities, steamships, stockyards, grain elevators, and "basic natural resources"; and payment of the war debt by taxes on incomes and land values and by appropriation of all inheritances in excess of $100,000. In some of its general expressions, such as "the nationalization and development of basic natural resources," this platform is the most radical of the three labor pronouncements.

British Quaker Employers

Probably the most definite and comprehensive statement from the opposite industrial class was put forth several months ago by a group of 20 Quaker employers in Great Britain. In outline their program is as follows: A family living wage for all male employees, and a secondary wage in excess of this for workers having special skill, training, physical strength, responsibility for human life; the right of labor to organize, to bargain collectively with the employer, and to participate in the industrial part of business management; serious and practical measures to reduce the volume and hardship of unemployment; provisions of such working conditions as will safeguard health, physical integrity and morals; the reduction, so

far as practicable, of profits and interest until both the basic and the secondary wage has been paid, and transfer to the community of the greater part of surplus profits.

The spirit and conception of responsibility that permeate every item of the program are reflected in this statement: "We would ask all employers to consider very carefully whether their style of living and personal expenditure are restricted to what is needed in order to insure the efficient performance of their functions in society. More than this is waste, and is, moreover, a great cause of class divisions"

American Employers

The only important declaration by representatives of the employing class in the United States was given out December 6 by the convention of the National Chamber of Commerce. Compared with the program of the British Quakers, it is extremely disappointing. By far the greater part of it consists of proposals and demands in the interest of business. It opposes Government ownership of railroads, telegraphs, and telephones; calls for moderation in taxation, and demands a modification of the Sherman antitrust law. While it commended the program of John D. Rockefeller, jr., on the relations that should exist between capital and labor, it took away much of the value of this action by declining to indorse the specific methods which that gentleman proposed for carrying his principles into effect. The most important and progressive general statements made by Mr. Rockefeller are that industry should promote the advancement of social welfare quite as much as material welfare and that the laborer is entitled to fair wages, reasonable hours of work, proper working conditions, a decent home, and reasonable opportunities of recreation, education, and worship.

The most important specific method that he has recommended for bringing about harmony between employers and employees is adequate representation of both parties. Apparently the National Chamber of Commerce is not yet ready to concede the right of labor to be represented in determining its relations with capital.

An Interdenominational Statement

In Great Britain an organization known as the Interdenominational Conference of Social Service Unions, comprising 10

religious bodies, including Catholics, spent more than a year formulating a statement of social reconstruction. (See the summary and analysis contained in the Catholic Social Year Book for 1918) This statement deals with principles, evils, and remedies. Presuming that Christianity provides indispensable guiding principles and powerful motives of social reform, it lays down the basic proposition that every human being is of inestimable worth and that legislation should recognize persons as more sacred than property; therefore the State should enforce a minimum living wage, enable the worker to obtain some control of industrial conditions, supplement private initiative in providing decent housing, prevent the occurrence of unemployment, safeguard the right of the laborer and his family to a reasonable amount of rest and recreation, remove those industrial and social conditions which hinder marriage and encourage an unnatural restriction of families, and afford ample opportunities for education of all children industrially, culturally, religiously, and morally. On the other hand, rights imply duties, and the individual is obliged to respect the rights of others, to cultivate self-control, to recognize that labor is the law of life, and that wealth is a trust Finally, the statement points out that all social reform must take as its end and guide the maintenance of pure and wholesome family life.

Such in barest outline are the main propositions and principles of this remarkable program. The text contains adequate exposition of the development and application of all these points and concrete specifications of the methods and measures by which the aims and principles may be brought into effect. In the latter respect the statement is not liable to the fatal objection that is frequently and fairly urged against the reform pronouncements of religious bodies; that they are abstract, platitudinous, and usually harmless. The statement of the interdenominational conference points out specific remedies for the evils that it describes, specific measures, legislative and other, by which the principles may be realized in actual life. Especially practical and valuable for Catholics are the explanations and modifications supplied by the Year Book of the Catholic Social Guild.

No Profound Changes in the United States

It is not to be expected that as many or as great social changes will take place in the United States as in Europe.

Neither our habits of thinking nor our ordinary ways of life have undergone a profound disturbance The hackneyed phrase, "Things will never again be the same after the war," has a much more concrete and deeply felt meaning among the European peoples. Their minds are fully adjusted to the conviction and expectation that these words will come true. In the second place, the devastation, the loss of capital and of men, the changes in individual relations, and the increase in the activities of government have been much greater in Europe than in the United States. Moreover, our superior natural advantages and resources, the better industrial and social condition of our working classes still constitute an obstacle to anything like revolutionary changes. It is significant that no social group in America, not even among wage earners, has produced such a fundamental and radical program of reconstruction as the labor party of Great Britain.

A Practical and Moderate Program

No attempt will be made in these pages to formulate a comprehensive scheme of reconstruction. Such an undertaking would be a waste of time as regards immediate needs and purposes, for no important group or section of the American people is ready to consider a program of this magnitude. Attention will therefore be confined to those reforms that seem to be desirable and also obtainable within a reasonable time, and to a few general principles which should become a guide to more distant developments. A statement thus circumscribed will not merely present the objects that we wish to see attained, but will also serve as an imperative call to action. It will keep before our minds the necessity for translating our faith into works. In the statements of immediate proposals we shall start, wherever possible, from those governmental agencies in operation during the war. These come before us with the prestige of experience and should therefore receive first consideration in any program that aims to be at once practical and persuasive.

The first problem in the process of reconstruction is the industrial replacement of the discharged soldiers and sailors. The majority of these will undoubtedly return to their previous occupations. However, a very large number of them will either find their previous places closed to them or will be eager to

consider the possibility of more attractive employments. The most important single measure for meeting this situation that has been suggested is the placement of such men on farms. Several months ago Secretary Lane recommended to Congress that returning soldiers and sailors should be given the opportunity to work at good wages upon some part of the millions upon millions of acres of arid, swamp, and cut-over timber lands, in order to prepare them for cultivation. President Wilson in his annual address to Congress indorsed the proposal. As fast as this preliminary task has been performed the men should be assisted by Government loans to establish themselves as farmers, either as owners or as tenants having long-time leases. It is essential that both the work of preparation and the subsequent settlement of the land should be effected by groups or colonies, not by men living independently of one another and in depressing isolation. A plan of this sort is already in operation in England. The importance of the project as an item of any social-reform program is obvious. It would afford employment to thousands upon thousands, would greatly increase the number of farm owners and independent farmers, and would tend to lower the cost of living by increasing the amount of agricultural products. If it is to assume any considerable proportions, it must be carried out by the Governments of the United States and of the several States. Should it be undertaken by these authorities and operated on a systematic and generous scale, it would easily become one of the most beneficial reform measures that has ever been attempted.

United States Employment Service

The reinstatement of the soldiers and sailors in urban industries will no doubt be facilitated by the United States Employment Service. This agency has attained a fair degree of development and efficiency during the war. Unfortunately there is some danger that it will go out of existence or be greatly weakened at the end of the period of demobilization. It is the obvious duty of Congress to continue and strengthen this important institution. The problem of unemployment is with us always. Its solution requires the co-operation of many agencies and the use of many methods, but the primary and indispensable instrument is a national system of labor exchanges acting in harmony with State, municipal, and private employment bureaus.

Women War Workers

One of the most important problems of readjustment is that created by the presence in industry of immense numbers of women who have taken the places of men during the war. Mere justice, to say nothing of chivalry, dictates that these women should not be compelled to suffer any greater loss or inconvenience than is absolutely necessary, for their services to the Nation have been second only to the services of the men whose places they were called upon to fill. One general principle is clear: No female worker should remain in any occupation that is harmful to health or morals Women should disappear as quickly as possible from such tasks as conducting and guarding street cars, cleaning locomotives, and a great number of other activities for which conditions of life and their physique render them unfit. Another general principle is that the proportion of women in industry ought to be kept within the smallest practical limits. If we have an efficient national employment service, if a goodly number of the returned soldiers and sailors are placed on the land, and if wages and the demand for goods are kept up to the level which is easily attainable, all female workers who are displaced from tasks that they have been performing only since the beginning of the war will be able to find suitable employments in other parts of the industrial field, or in those domestic occupations which sorely need their presence. Those women who are engaged at the same tasks as men should receive equal pay for equal amounts and qualities of work.

National War Labor Board

One of the most beneficial governmental organizations of the war is the National War Labor Board. Upon the basis of a few fundamental principles, unanimously adopted by the representatives of labor, capital, and the public, it has prevented innumerable strikes and raised wages to decent levels in many different industries throughout the country. Its main guiding principles have been a family living wage for all male adult laborers, recognition of the right of labor to organize and to deal with employers through its chosen representatives, and no coercion of nonunion laborers by members of the union. The War Labor Board ought to be continued in existence by Congress and endowed with all the power for effective action

that it can possess under the Federal Constitution. The principles, methods, machinery, and results of this institution constitute a definite and far-reaching gain for social justice. No part of this advantage should be lost or given up in time of peace.

Present Wage Rates Should Be Sustained

The general level of wages attained during the war should not be lowered. In a few industries, especially some directly and peculiarly connected with the carrying on of war, wages have reached a plane upon which they can not possibly continue for this grade of occupations. But the number of workers in this situation is an extremely small proportion of the entire wage-earning population. The overwhelming majority should not be compelled or suffered to undergo any reduction in their rates of remuneration, for two reasons: First, because the average rate of pay has not increased faster than the cost of living; second, because a considerable majority of the wage earners of the United States, both men and women, were not receiving living wages when prices began to rise in 1915. In that year, according to Lauck and Sydenstricker, whose work is the most comprehensive on the subject, four-fifths of the heads of families obtained less than $800, while two-thirds of the female wage workers were paid less than $400. Even if the prices of goods should fall to the level on which they were in 1915—something that can not be hoped for within five years—the average present rates of wages would not exceed the equivalent of a decent livelihood in the case of the vast majority. The exceptional instances to the contrary are practically all among the skilled workers. Therefore wages, on the whole, should not be reduced even when the cost of living recedes from its present high level.

Even if the great majority of workers were now in receipt of more than living wages, there are no good reasons why rates of pay should be lowered. After all, a living wage is not necessarily the full measure of justice. All the Catholic authorities on the subject explicitly declare that this is only the minimum of justice. In a country as rich as ours there are very few cases in which it is posible to prove that the worker would be getting more than that to which he has a right if he were paid something in excess of this ethical minimum. Why, then, should we assume that this is the normal share of almost

the whole laboring population? Since our industrial resources and instrumentalities are sufficient to provide more than a living wage for a very large proportion of the workers, why should we acquiesce in a theory which denies them this measure of the comforts of life? Such a policy is not only of very questionable morality but is unsound economically. The large demand for goods which is created and maintained by high rates of wages and high purchasing power by the masses is the surest guaranty of a continuous and general operation of industrial establishments. It is the most effective instrument of prosperity for labor and capital alike. The only persons who would benefit considerably through a general reduction of wages are the less efficient among the capitalists and the more comfortable sections of the consumers. The wage earners would lose more in remuneration than they would gain from whatever fall in prices occurred as a direct result of the fall in wages. On grounds both of justice and sound economics we should give our hearty support to all legitimate efforts made by labor to resist general wage reductions.

Housing for Working Classes

Housing projects for war workers which have been completed, or almost completed, by the Government of the United States have cost some forty million dollars and are found in 11 cities While the Federal Government can not continue this work in time of peace, the example and precedent that it has set and the experience and knowledge that it has developed should not be forthwith neglected and lost. The great cities in which congestion and other forms of bad housing are disgracefully apparent ought to take up and continue the work, at least to such an extent as will remove the worst features of a social condition that is a menace at once to industrial efficiency, civic health, good morals, and religion.

Reduction of the Cost of Living

During the war the cost of living has risen at least 75 per cent above the level of 1913. Some check has been placed upon the upward trend by Government fixing of prices in the case of bread and coal and a few other commodities. Even if we believe it desirable, we can not ask that the Government continue this action after the articles of peace have been signed, for neither public opinion nor Congress is ready for such a

revolutionary policy. If the extortionate practices of monopoly were prevented by adequate laws and adequate law enforcement, prices would automatically be kept at as low a level as that to which they might be brought by direct Government determination. Just what laws, in addition to those already on the statute books, are necessary to abolish monopolistic extortion is a question of detail that need not be considered here. In passing, it may be noted that Government competition with monopolies that can not be effectively restrained by the ordinary antitrust laws deserves more serious consideration than it has yet received.

More important and more effective than any Government regulation of prices would be the establishment of co-operative stores. The enormous toll taken from industry by the various classes of middlemen is now fully realized. The astonishing difference between the price received by the producer and that paid by the consumer has become a scandal to our industrial system. The obvious and direct means of reducing this discrepancy and abolishing unnecessary middlemen is the operation of retail and wholesale mercantile concerns under the ownership and management of the consumers. This is no Utopian scheme. It has been successfully carried out in England and Scotland through the Rochdale system. Very few serious efforts of this kind have been made in this country because our people have not felt the need of these co-operative enterprises as keenly as the European working classes, and because we have been too impatient and too individualistic to make the necessary sacrifices and to be content with moderate benefits and gradual progress. Nevertheless, our superior energy, initiative, and commercial capacity will enable us, once we set about the task earnestly, even to surpass what has been done in England and Scotland.

In addition to reducing the cost of living, the co-operative stores would train our working people and consumers generally in the habits of saving, in careful expenditure, in business methods, and in the capacity for co-operation. When the working classes have learned to make the sacrifices and to exercise the patience required by the ownership and operation of co-operative stores, they will be equipped to undertake a great variety of tasks and projects which benefit the community immediately and all its constituent members ultimately. They will then realize the folly of excessive selfishness and senseless in-

dividualism. Until they have acquired this knowledge, training, and capacity, desirable extensions of governmental action in industry will not be attended by a normal amount of success. No machinery of Government can operate automatically, and no official and bureaucratic administration of such machinery can ever be a substitute for intelligent interest and co-operation by the individuals of the community.

The Legal Minimum Wage

Turning now from those agencies and laws that have been put in operation during the war to the general subject of labor legislation and problems, we are glad to note that there is no longer any serious objection urged by impartial persons against the legal minimum wage. The several States should enact laws providing for the establishment of wage rates that will be at least sufficient for the decent maintenance of a family, in the case of all male adults, and adequate to the decent support of female workers. In the beginning the minimum wages for male workers should suffice only for the present needs of the family, but they should be gradually raised until they are adequate to future needs as well; that is, they should be ultimately high enough to make possible that amount of saving which is necessary to protect the worker and his family against sickness, accident, invalidity, and old age.

Social Insurance

Until this level of legal minimum wages is reached the worker stands in need of the device of insurance. The State should make comprehensive provision for insurance against illness, invalidity, unemployment, and old age. So far as possible the insurance fund should be raised by a levy on industry, as is now done in the case of accident compensation. The industry in which a man is employed should provide him with all that is necessary to meet all the needs of his entire life. Therefore, any contribution to the insurance fund from the general revenues of the State should be only slight and temporary. For the same reason no contribution should be exacted from any worker who is not getting a higher wage than is required to meet the present needs of himself and family. Those who are below that level can make such a contribution only at the expense of their present welfare. Finally, the administration of the insurance laws should be such as to

interfere as little as possible with the individual freedom of the worker and his family. Any insurance scheme, or any administrative method, that tends to separate the workers into a distinct and dependent class, that offends against their domestic privacy and independence, or that threatens individual self-reliance and self-respect, should not be tolerated. The ideal to be kept in mind is a condition in which all the workers would themselves have the income and the responsibility of providing for all the needs and contingencies of life, both present and future. Hence all forms of State insurance should be regarded as merely a lesser evil, and should be so organized and administered as to hasten the coming of the normal condition.

The life insurance offered to soldiers and sailors during the war should be continued, so far as the enlisted men are concerned. It is very doubtful whether the time has yet arrived when public opinion would sanction the extension of general life insurance by the Government to all classes of the community.

The establishment and maintenance of municipal health inspection in all schools, public and private, is now pretty generally recognized as of great importance and benefit. Municipal clinics where the poorer classes could obtain the advantage of medical treatment by specialists at a reasonable cost would likewise seem to have become a necessity. A vast amount of unnecessary sickness and suffering exists among the poor and the lower middle classes, because they can not afford the advantages of any other treatment except that provided by the general practitioner. The service of these clinics should be given gratis only to those who can not afford to pay.

Labor Participation in Industrial Management

The right of labor to organize and to deal with employers through representatives has been asserted above in connection with the discussion of the War Labor Board. It is to be hoped that this right will never again be called in question by any considerable number of employers. In addition to this, labor ought gradually to receive greater representation in what the English group of Quaker employers have called the "industrial" part of business management—"the control of processes and machinery; nature of product; engagement and dismissal of employees; hours of work, rates of pay, bonuses, etc.; welfare work; shop discipline; relations with trade-unions."

The establishment of shop committees, working wherever possible with the trade-union, is the method suggested by this group of employers for giving the employees the proper share of industrial management. There can be no doubt that a frank adoption of these means and ends by employers would not only promote the welfare of the workers but vastly improve the relations between them and their employers, and increase the efficiency and productiveness of each establishment.

There is no need here to emphasize the importance of safety and sanitation in work places, as this is pretty generally recognized by legislation. What is required is an extension and strengthening of many of the existing statutes, and a better administration and enforcement of such laws everywhere.

Vocational Training

The need of industrial or, as it has come to be more generally called, vocational training is now universally acknowledged. In the interest of the Nation, as well as in that of the workers themselves, this training should be made substantially universal. While we can not now discuss the subject in any detail, we do wish to set down two general observations. First, the vocational training should be offered in such forms and conditions as not to deprive the children of the working classes of at least the elements of a cultural education. A healthy democracy can not tolerate a purely industrial or trade education for any class of its citizens We do not want to have the children of the wage earners put into a special class in which they are marked as outside the sphere of opportunities for culture The second observation is that the system of vocational training should not operate so as to weaken in any degree our parochial schools or any other class of private schools. Indeed, the opportunities of the system should be extended to all qualified private schools on exactly the same basis as to public schools We want neither class divisions in education nor a State monopoly of education.

Child Labor

The question of education naturally suggests the subject of child labor Public opinion in the majority of the States of our country has set its face inflexibly against the continuous employment of children in industry before the age of 16 years. Within a reasonably short time all of our States, except some

stagnant ones, will have laws providing for this reasonable standard. The education of public opinion must continue, but inasmuch as the process is slow the abolition of child labor in certain sections seems unlikely to be brought about by the legislatures of those States, and since the Keating-Owen Act has been declared unconstitutional there seems to be no device by which this reproach to our country can be removed except that of taxing child labor out of existence. This method is embodied in an amendment to the Federal revenue bill, which would impose a tax of 10 per cent on all goods made by children.

Probably the foregoing proposals comprise everything that is likely to have practical value in a program of immediate social reconstruction for America. Substantially all of these methods, laws, and recommendations have been recognized in principle by the United States during the war, or have been indorsed by important social and industrial groups and organizations. Therefore they are objects that we can set before the people with good hope of obtaining a sympathetic and practical response. Were they all realized a great step would have been taken in the direction of social justice. When they are all put into operation the way will be easy and obvious to still greater and more beneficial results.

Ultimate and Fundamental Reforms

Despite the practical and immediate character of the present statement, we can not entirely neglect the question of ultimate aims and a systematic program; for other groups are busy issuing such systematic pronouncements, and we will all need something of the kind as a philosophical foundation and as a satisfaction to our natural desire for comprehensive statements.

It seems clear that the present industrial system is destined to last for a long time in its main outlines. That is to say, private ownership of capital is not likely to be supplanted by a collectivist organization of industry at a date sufficiently near to justify any present action based on the hypothesis of its arrival. This forecast we recognize as not only extremely probable but as highly desirable; for, other objections apart, socialism would mean bureaucracy, political tyranny, the helplessness of the individual as a factor in the ordering of his own life, and in general social inefficiency and decadence.

Main Defects of Present System

Nevertheless, the present system stands in grievous need of considerable modifications and improvement. Its main defects are three: Enormous inefficiency and waste in the production and distribution of commodities; insufficient incomes for the great majority of wage earners, and unnecessarily large incomes for a small minority of privileged capitalists. The evils in production and in the distribution of goods would be in great measure abolished by the reforms that have been outlined in the foregoing pages Production will be greatly increased by universal living wages, by adequate industrial education, and by harmonious relations between labor and capital on the basis of adequate participation by the former in all the industrial aspects of business management. The wastes of commodity distribution could be practically all eliminated by co-operative mercantile establishments and co-operative selling and marketing associations.

Cooperation and Copartnership

Nevertheless, the full possibilities of increased production will not be realized so long as the majority of the workers remain mere wage earners. The majority must somehow become owners, or at least in part, of the instruments of production. They can be enabled to reach this stage gradually through cooperative productive societies and copartnership arrangements. In the former the workers own and manage the industries themselves; in the latter they own a substantial part of the corporate stock and exercise a reasonable share in the management. However slow the attainment of these ends, they will have to be reached before we can have a thoroughly efficient system of production, or an industrial and social order that will be secure from the danger of revolution. It is to be noted that this particular modification of the existing order, though far-reaching and involving to a great extent the abolition of the wage system, would not mean the abolition of private ownership. The instruments of production would still be owned by individuals, not by the State.

Increased Incomes for Labor

The second great evil, that of insufficient income for the majority, can be removed only by providing the workers with

more income. This means not only universal living wages, but the opportunity of obtaining something more than that amount for all who are willing to work hard and faithfully. All the other measures for labor betterment recommended in the preceding pages would likewise contribute directly or indirectly to a more just distribution of wealth in the interest of the laborer.

Abolition and Control of Monopolies

For the third evil mentioned above, excessive gains by a small minority of privileged capitalists, the main remedies are prevention of monopolistic control of commodities, adequate Government regulation of such public-service monopolies as will remain under private operation, and heavy taxation of incomes, excess profits, and inheritances. The precise methods by which genuine competition may be restored and maintained among businesses that are naturally competitive can not be discussed here, but the principle is clear that human beings can not be trusted with the immense opportunities for oppression and extortion that go with the possession of monopoly power. That the owners of public-service monopolies should be restricted by law to a fair or average return on their actual investment has long been a recognized principle of the courts, the legislatures, and public opinion. It is a principle which should be applied to competitive enterprises likewise, with the qualification that something more than the average rate of return should be allowed to men who exhibit exceptional efficiency. However, good public policy, as well as equity, demands that these exceptional business men share the fruits of their efficiency with the consumer in the form of lower prices. The man who utilizes his ability to produce cheaper than his competitors for the purpose of exacting from the public as high a price for his product as is necessary for the least efficient business man is a menace rather than a benefit to industry and society.

Our immense war debt constitutes a particular reason why incomes and excess profits should continue to be heavily taxed. In this way two important ends will be obtained—the poor will be relieved of injurious tax burdens and the small class of specially privileged capitalists will be compelled to return a part of their unearned gains to society.

A New Spirit of Vital Need

"Society," said Pope Leo XIII, "can be healed in no other way than by a return to Christian life and Christian institutions." The truth of these words is more widely perceived to-day than when they were written, more than 27 years ago. Changes in our economic and political systems will have only partial and feeble efficiency if they be not reinforced by the Christian view of work and wealth. Neither the moderate reforms advocated in this paper nor any other program of betterment or reconstruction will prove reasonably effective without a reform in the spirit of both labor and capital. The laborer must come to realize that he owes his employer and society an honest day's work in return for a fair wage and that conditions can not be substantially improved until he roots out the desire to get a maximum of return for a minimum of service. The capitalist must likewise get a new viewpoint. He needs to learn the long-forgotten truth that wealth is stewardship; that profit making is not the basic justification of business enterprise; and that there are such things as fair profits, fair interest, and fair prices. Above and before all, he must cultivate and strengthen within his mind the truth which many of his class have begun to grasp for the first time during the present war, namely, that the laborer is a human being, not merely an instrument of production, and that the laborer's right to a decent livelihood is the first moral charge upon industry. The employer has a right to get a reasonable living out of his business, but he has no right to interest on his investment until his employees have obtained at least living wages. This is the human and Christian, in contrast to the purely commercial and pagan, ethics of industry.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON RECONSTRUCION OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR, AS INDORSED BY THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL[1]

The world war has forced all free peoples to a fuller and deeper realization of the menace to civilization contained in autocratic control of the activities and destinies of mankind.

[1] From Report. Hearings, Committee on Education and Labor, U. S. Senate on Senate Resolution 382. January 4, 1919. Washington, D. C.

It has caused a world-wide determination to overthrow and eradicate all autocratic institutions, so that a full measure of freedom and justice can be established between man and man and nation and nation.

It has awakened more fully the consciousness that the principles of democracy should regulate the relationship of men in all their activities.

It has opened the doors of opportunity through which more sound and progressive policies may enter.

New conceptions of human liberty, justice, and opportunity are to be applied

The American Federation of Labor, the one organization representing labor in America, conscious that its responsibilities are now greater than before, presents a program for the guidance of labor, based upon experience and formulated with a full consciousness of the principles which have successfully guided American trade-unionism in the past.

Democracy in Industry

Two codes of rules and regulations affect the workers—the law upon the statute books and the rules within industry

The first determines their relationship as citizens to all other citizens and to property.

The second largely determines the relationship of employer and employee, the terms of employment, the conditions of labor, and the rules and regulations affecting the workers as employees. The first is secured through the application of the methods of democracy in the enactment of legislation, and is based upon the principle that the laws which govern a free people should exist only with their consent.

The second, except where effective trade-unionism exists, is established by the arbitrary or autocratic whim, desire, or opinion of the employer and is based upon the principle that industry and commerce can not be successfully conducted unless the employer exercises the unquestioned right to establish such rules, regulations, and provisions affecting the employees as self-interest prompts.

Both forms of law vitally affect the workers' opportunities in life and determine their standard of living. The rules, regulations, and conditions within industry in many instances affect them more than legislative enactments. It is, therefore, essential that the workers should have a voice in determining

the laws within the industry and commerce which affect them equivalent to the voice which they have as citizens in determining the legislative enactments which shall govern them.

It is as inconceivable that the workers as free citizens should remain under autocratically made law within industry and commerce as it is that the Nation could remain a democracy while certain individuals of groups exercise autocratic powers.

It is, therefore, essential that the workers everywhere should insist upon their right to organize into trade-unions and that effective legislation should be enacted which would make it a criminal offense for any employer to interfere with or hamper the exercise of this right or to interfere with the legitimate activities of trade-unions.

Unemployment

Political economy of the old school, conceived by doctrinaires, was based upon unsound and false doctrines and has since been used to blindfold, deceive, and defeat the workers' demands for adequate wages, better living and working conditions, and a just share of the fruits of their labor.

We hold strictly to the trade-union philosophy and its developed political economy based upon demonstrated facts.

Unemployment is due to underconsumption. Underconsumption is caused by low or insufficient wages.

Just wages will prevent industrial stagnation and lessen periodical unemployment.

Give the workers just wages, and their consuming capacity is correspondingly increased. A man's ability to consume is controlled by the wages received. Just wages will create a market at home which will far surpass any market that may exist elsewhere and will lessen unemployment.

The employment of idle workmen on public work will not permanently remove the cause of unemployment. It is an expedient at best.

There is no basis in fact for the claim that the so-called law of supply and demand is natural in its operations and impossible of control or regulation.

The trade-union movement has maintained standard wages, hours, and life in periods of industrial depression and idleness. These in themselves are a refutation of the declared immutability of the law of supply and demand.

There is in fact no such condition as an iron law of wages

based upon a natural law of supply and demand. Conditions in commerce and industry, methods of production, storing of commodities, regulation of the volume of production, banking systems, the flow and direction of enterprise influenced by combinations and trusts have effectively destroyed the theory of a natural law of supply and demand as had been formulated by doctrinaire economists.

Wages

There are no means whereby the workers can obtain and maintain fair wages except through trade-union effort. Therefore, economic organization is paramount to all their other activities.

Organization of the workers leads to better wages, fewer working hours, improved working conditions. It develops independence, manhood, and character; it fosters tolerance and real justice and makes for a constantly growing better economic, social, and political life for the burden-bearing masses.

In countries where wages are best, the greatest progress has been made in economic, social, and political advancement, in science art, literature, education, and in the wealth of the people generally. All low wage paying countries contrasted with America is proof for this statement.

The American standard of life must be maintained and improved. The value of wages is determined by the purchasing power of the dollar. There is no such thing as good wages when the cost of living in decency and comfort equals or exceeds the wages received. There must be no reduction in wages -in many instances wages must be increased.

The workers of the Nation demand a living wage for all wage earners, skilled or unskilled—a wage which will enable the worker and his family to live in health and comfort, provide a competence for illness and old age, and afford to all the opportunities of cultivating the best that is within mankind.

Hours of Labor

Reasonable hours of labor promote the economic and social well-being of the toiling masses. Their attainment should be one of labor's principal and essential activities. The shorter workday and a shorter week make for a constantly growing higher and better standard of productivity, health, longevity, morals, and citizenship.

The right of labor to fix its hours of work must not be abrogated, abridged, or interfered with.

The day's working time should be limited to not more than eight hours, with overtime prohibited, except under the most extraordinary emergencies. The week's working time should be limited to not more than five and one-half days.

Women as Wage Earners

Women should receive the same pay as men for equal work performed. Women workers must not be permitted to perform tasks disproportionate to their physical strength or which tend to impair their potential motherhood and prevent the continuation of a nation of strong, healthy, sturdy, and intelligent men and women.

Child Labor

The children constitute the nation's most valuable asset. The full responsibility of the Government should be recognized by such measures as will protect the health of every child at birth and during its immature years.

It must be one of the chief functions of the nation through effective legislation to put an immediate end to the exploitation of children under 16 years of age

State legislatures should protect children of immature years by prohibiting their employment, for gain, under 16 years of age and restricting the employment of children of at least 18 years of age to not more than 20 hours within any one week and with not less than 20 hours at school during the same period.

Exploitation of child life for private gain must not be permitted.

Status of Public Employees

The fixing of wages, hours and conditions of labor for public employees by legislation hampers the necessary exercise of organization and collective bargaining.

Public employees must not be denied the right of organization, free activities, and collective bargaining, and must not be limited in the exercise of their rights as citizens.

Co-operation

To attain the greatest possible development of civilization it is essential, among other things, that the people should never

delegate to others those activities and responsibilities which they are capable of assuming for themselves. Democracy can function best with the least interference by the State compatible with due protection to the rights of all citizens.

There are many problems arising from production, transportation, and distribution which would be readily solved by applying the methods of co-operation. Unnecessary middlemen who exact a tax from the community without rendering any useful service can be eliminated

The farmers through co-operative dairies, canneries, packing houses, grain elevators, distributing houses, and other co-operative enterprises, can secure higher prices for their products and yet place these in the consumer's hands at lower prices than would otherwise be paid. There is an almost limitless field for the consumers in which to establish co-operative buying and selling, and in this most necessary development the trade unionists should take an immediate and active part.

Trade-unions secure fair wages. Co-operation protects the wage earner from the profiteer.

Participation in these co-operative agencies must of necessity prepare the mass of the people to participate more effectively in the solution of the industrial, commercial, social, and political problems which continually arise

The People's Final Voice in Legislation

It is manifestly evident that a people are not self-governing unless they enjoy the unquestioned power to determine the form and substance of the laws which shall govern them. Self-government can not adequately function if there exists within the nation a superior power or authority which can finally determine what legislation enacted by the people, or their duly elected representatives, shall be placed upon the statute books and what shall be declared null and void.

An insuperable obstacle to self-government in the United States exists in the power which has been gradually assumed by the Supreme Courts of the Federal and State Governments, to declare legislation null and void upon the ground that, in the court's opinion, it is unconstitutional.

It is essential that the people, acting directly or through Congress or State legislatures, should have final authority in determining which laws shall be enacted. Adequate steps must be taken, therefore, which will provide that in the event of a

supreme court declaring an act of Congress, or of a State legislature, unconstitutional and the people acting directly or through Congress, or a State legislature, should reenact the measure, it shall then become the law without being subject to annulment by any court.

Political Policy

In the political efforts, arising from the workers' necessity to secure legislation covering these conditions and provisions of life not subject to collective bargaining with employers, organized labor has followed two methods, one by organizing political parties, the other by the determination to place in public office representatives from their ranks; to elect those who favor and champion the legislation desired, and to defeat those whose policy is opposed to labor's legislative demands, regardless of partisan politics.

The disastrous experience of organized labor in America with political parties of its own amply justified the American Federation of Labor's nonpartisan political policy. The results secured by labor parties in other countries never have been such as to warrant any deviation from this position. The rules and regulations of trade unionism should not be extended so that the action of a majority could force a minority to vote for or give financial support to any political candidate or party to whom they are opposed. Trade-union activities can not receive the undivided attention of members and officers if the exigencies, burdens, and responsibilities of a political party are bound up with their economic and industrial organizations.

The experiences and results attained through the nonpartisan political policy of the American Federation of Labor cover a generation They indicate that through its application the workers of America have secured a much larger measure of fundamental legislation, establishing their rights, safeguarding their interests, protecting their welfare, and opening the doors of opportunity than have been secured by the workers of any other country.

The vital legislation now required can be more readily secured through education of the public mind and the appeal to its conscience, supplemented by energetic independent political activity on the part of trade-unionists than by any other method. This is and will continue to be the political policy of the American Federation of Labor, if the lessons which labor

has learned in the bitter but practical school of experience are to be respected and applied.

It is, therefore, most essential that the officers of the American Federation of Labor, the officers of the affiliated organizations, State federations and central labor bodies and the entire membership of the trade union movement should give the most vigorous application possible to the political policy of the A. F. of L so that Labor's friends and opponents may be more widely known, and the legislation most required readily secured. This phase of our movement is still in its infancy. It should be continued and developed to its logical conclusion.

Government Ownership

Public and semipublic utilities should be owned, or operated and regulated, by the Government in the interest of the public.

Whatever final disposition shall be made of the railways of the country in ownership, management or regulation, we insist upon the right of the workers to organize for their common and mutual protection and the full exercise of the normal activities which come with organization. Any attempt at the denial by governmental authority of the rights of the workers to organize, to petition, to representation and to collective bargaining, or the denial of the exercise of their political rights is repugnant to the fundamental principles of free citizenship in a republic and is destructive of their best interest and welfare.

The Government should own and operate all wharves and docks connected with public harbors which are used for commerce or transportation.

The American Merchant Marine should be encouraged and developed under governmental control and so manned as to insure successful operation and protect in full the beneficent laws now on the statute books for the rights and welfare of seamen. The seamen must be accorded the same rights and privileges exercised by the workers in all other employments, public and private.

Waterways and Water Power

The lack of practical development of our waterways and the inadequate extension of canals have seriously handicapped water traffic and created unnecessarily high cost for transportation In many instances it has established artificial restric-

tions which have worked to the serious injury of communities, owing to the schemes of those controlling a monopoly of land transportation. Our navigable rivers and our great inland lakes should be connected with the sea by an adequate system of canals, so that inland production can be more effectively fostered, the costs of transportation reduced, the private monopoly of transportation overcome and imports and exports shipped at lower costs.

The Nation is possessed of enormous water power. Legislation should be enacted providing that the Governments, Federal and State, should own, develop, and operate all water power over which they have jurisdiction. The power thus generated should be supplied to all citizens at rates based upon cost. The water power of the Nation, created by nature, must not be permitted to pass into private hands for private exploitation.

Regulation of Land Ownership

Agriculture and stock raising are essential to national safety and well-being. The history of all countries, at all times, indicates that the conditions which create a tenant class of agriculturists work increasing injury to the tillers of the soil. While increasing the price of the product to the consumer these conditions at the same time develop a class of large land owners who contribute little, if anything, to the welfare of the community but who exact a continually increasing share of the wealth produced by the tenant. The private ownership of large tracts of usable land is not conducive to the best interests of a democratic people.

Legislation should be enacted placing a graduated tax upon all usable lands above the acreage which is cultivated by the owner. This should include provisions through which the tenant farmer, or others, may purchase land upon the lowest rate of interest and most favorable terms consistent with safety, and so safeguarded by governmental supervision and regulation as to give the fullest and freest opportunity for the development of land-owning agriculturists.

Special assistance should be given in the direction of allotments of land and the establishment of homes on the public domain.

Establishment of Government experimental farms and measures for stock-raising instruction, the irrigation of arid lands

and reclamation of swamp and cut-over lands shoud be undertaken upon a larger scale under direction of the Federal Government.

Municipalities and States should be empowered to acquire lands for cultivation or the erection of residential buildings which they may use or dispose of under equitable terms.

Federal and State Regulation of Corporations

The creation by legislative enactment of corporations, without sufficient definition of the powers and scope of activities conferred upon them and without provisions for their adequate supervision, regulation, and control by the creative body, has led to the development of far-reaching abuses which have seriously affected commerce, industry, and the masses of the people through their influence upon social, industrial, commercial, and political development. Legislation is required which will so limit, define, and regulate the powers, privileges, and activities of corporations that their methods can not become detrimental to the welfare of the people. It is, therefore, essential that legislation should provide for the Federal licensing of all corporations organized for profit. Furthermore, Federal supervision and control should include the increasing of capital stock and the incurring of bonded indebtedness with the provision that the books of all corporations shall be open at all times to Federal examiners.

Freedom of Expression and Association

The very life and perpetuity of free and democratic institutions are dependent upon freedom of speech, of the press, and of assemblage and association. We insist that all restrictions of freedom of speech, press, public assembly, association, and travel be completely removed, individuals and groups being responsible for their utterances. These fundamental rights must be set out with clearness and must not be denied or abridged in any manner.

Workmen's Compensation

Workmen's compensation laws should be amended to provide more adequately for those incapacitated by industrial accidents or occupational diseases. To assure that the insurance fund derived from commerce and industry will be paid in full to injured workers State insurance must supplant, and

prohibit the existence of, employers' liability insurance operated for profit.

Immigration

Americanization of those coming from foreign lands, as well as our standards of education and living, are vitally affected by the volume and character of the immigration.

It is essential that additional legislation regulating immigration should be enacted based upon two fundamental propositions, namely, that the flow of immigration must not at any time exceed the Nation's ability to assimilate and Americanize the foreigners coming to our shores and that at no time shall immigration be permitted when there exists an abnormal degree of unemployment.

By reason of existing conditions we urge that immigration into the United States should be prohibited for a period of at least two years after peace has been declared.

Taxation

One of the Nation's most valuable assets is the initiative, energetic, constructive, and inventive genius of its people. These qualities when properly applied should be fostered and protected instead of being hampered by legislation, for they constitute an invaluable element of progress and material development. Taxation should, therefore, rest as lightly as possible upon constructive enterprise. Taxation should provide for full contribution from wealth by a tax upon profits which will not discourage industrial or commercial enterprise. There should be provided a progressive increase in taxes upon incomes, inheritances, and upon land values of such a nature as to render it unprofitable to hold land without putting it to use, to afford a transition to greater economic quality and to supply means of liquidating the national indebtedness growing out of the war.

Education

It is impossible to estimate the influence of education upon the world's civilization. Education must not stifle thought and inquiry, but must awaken the mind concerning the application of natural laws and to a conception of independence and progress.

Education must not be for a few but for all our people. While there is an advanced form of public education in many States there still remains a lack of adequate educational facili-

ties in several States and communities. The welfare of the Republic demands that public education should be elevated to the highest degree possible. The Government should exercise advisory supervision over public education and where necessary maintain adequate public education through subsidies without giving to the Government power to hamper or interfere with the free development of public education by the several States. It is essential that our system of public education should offer the wage-earners' children the opportunity for the fullest possible development. To attain this end State colleges and universities should be developed.

It is also important that the industrial education which is being fostered and developed should have for its purpose not so much training for efficiency in industry as training for life in an industrial society. A full understanding must be had of those principles and activities that are the foundation of all productive efforts. Children should not only become familiar with tools and materials but they should also receive a thorough knowledge of the principles of human control, of force and matter underlying our industrial relations and sciences. The danger that certain commercial and industrial interests may dominate the character of education must be averted by insisting that the workers shall have equal representation on all boards of education or committees having control over vocational studies and training.

To elevate and advance the interests of the teaching profession and to promote popular and democratic education, the right of teachers to organize and to affiliate with the movement of the organized workers must be recognized.

Private Employment Agencies

Essentials in industry and commerce are employee and employer, labor and capital. No one questions the right of organized capital to supply capital to employers. No one should question the right of organized labor to furnish workers. Private employment agencies abridge this right of organized labor.

Where Federal, State, and municipal employment agencies are maintained they should operate under the supervision of joint committees of trade-unionists and employers, equally represented.

Private employment agencies operated for profit should not be permitted to exist.

Housing

Child life, the workers' physical condition, and public health demand that the wage earner and his family shall be given a full opportunity to live under wholesome conditions. It is not only necessary that there shall be sanitary and appropriate houses to live in but that a sufficient number of dwellings shall be available to free the people from high rents and overcrowding.

The ownership of homes, free from the grasp of exploitive and speculative interests, will make for more efficient workers, more contented families, and better citizens. The Government should, therefore, inaugurate a plan to build model homes and establish a system of credits whereby the workers may borrow money at a low rate of interest and under favorable terms to build their own homes. Credit should also be extended to voluntary nonprofit making housing and joint tenancy associations. States and municipalities should be freed from the restrictions preventing their undertaking proper housing projects and should be permitted to engage in other necessary enterprises relating thereto. The erection and maintenance of dwellings where migratory workers may find lodging and nourishing food during periods of unemployment should be encouraged and supported by municipalities.

If need should arise to expend public funds to relieve unemployment the building of wholesome houses would best serve the public interests.

Militarism

The trade-union movement is unalterably and emphatically opposed to "militarism" or a large standing army. "Militarism," is a system fostered and developed by tyrants in the hope of supporting their arbitrary authority. It is utilized by those whose selfish ambitions for power and worldly glory lead them to invade and subdue other peoples and nations, to destroy their liberties, to acquire their wealth, and to fasten the yoke of bondage upon them. The trade-union movement is convinced by the experience of mankind that "militarism" brutalizes those influenced by the spirit of the institution. The finer elements of humanity are strangled. Under "militarism" a deceptive patriotism is developed in the people's minds, where men believe that there is nobility of spirit and heroism in dying for the glory of a dynasty or the maintenance of institutions

which are inimical to human progress and democracy. "Militarism" is the application of arbitrary and irresponsible forces as opposed to reason and justice Resistance to injustice and tyranny is that virile quality which has given purpose and effect to ennobling causes in all countries and at all times. The free institutions of our country and the liberties won by its founders would have been impossible had they been unwilling to take arms and if necessary die in the defense of their liberties. Only a people willing to maintain their rights and defend their liberties are guaranteed free institutions.

Conditions foreign to the institutions of our country have prevented the entire abolition of organized bodies of men trained to carry arms. A voluntary citizen soldiery supplies what would otherwise take its place, a large standing army. To the latter we are unalterably opposed as tending to establish the evils of "militarism." Large standing armies threaten the existence of civil liberty. The history of every nation demonstrates that as standing armies are enlarged the rule of democracy is lessened or extinguished. Our experience has been that even this citizen soldiery, the militia of our States, has given cause at times for grave apprehension. Their ranks have not always been free from undesirable elements, particularly the tools of corporations involved in industrial disputes. During industrial disputes the militia has at times been called upon to support the authority of those who through selfish interests desired to enforce martial law while the courts were open and the civil authorities competent to maintain supremacy of civil law. We insist that the militia of our several States should be wholly organized and controlled by democratic principles so that this voluntary force of soldiery may never be diverted from its true purpose and used to jeopardize or infringe upon the rights and liberties of our people. The right to bear arms is a fundamental principle of our Government, a principle accepted at all times by free people as essential to the maintenance of their liberties and institutions. We demand that this right shall remain inviolate.

Soldiers and Sailors

Soldiers and sailors, those who entered the service in the Nation's defense, are entitled to the generous reward of a grateful Republic.

The necessities of war called upon millions of workmen to

leave their positions in industry and commerce to defend, upon the battle fields, the Nation's safety and its free institutions. These defenders are now returning. It is advisable that they should be discharged from military service at the earliest possible moment; that as civilians they may return to their respective homes and families and take up their peace-time pursuits. The Nation stands morally obligated to assist them in securing employment.

Industry has undergone great changes due to the dislocation caused by war production and transportation. Further readjustments in industry and commerce must follow the rehabilitation of business under peaceful conditions. Many positions which our citizen soldiers and sailors filled previous to enlistment do not exist to-day.

It would be manifestly unjust for the Government after having removed the worker from his position in industry and placed him in military service to discharge him from the Army or Navy without having made adequate provision to assist him in procuring employment and providing sustenance until employment has been secured. The returned citizen soldier or sailor should not be forced by the bitter urgent necessity of securing food and clothing to place himself at a disadvantage when seeking employment.

Upon their discharge, transportation and meals should be supplied to their places of residence. The monthly salary previously paid should be continued for a period not to exceed 12 months if employment is not secured within that period.

The Federal and State employment bureaus should be directed to co-operate with trade-union agencies in securing employment for discharged soldiers and sailors. In assisting the discharged soldier and sailor to secure employment, Government agencies should not expect them to accept employment for less than the prevailing rate of wages being paid in the industry. Neither should any Government agency request or require such discharged men to accept employment where a trade dispute exists or is threatened. Nor should the refusal on the part of any of these discharged soldiers or sailors to accept employment where trade disputes exist or are threatened or when less than the prevailing wage rate is offered deprive them of a continuance of their monthly pay.

Legislation also should be enacted which will give the Nation's defenders the opportunity for easy and ready access

to the land. Favorable inducements should be provided for them to enter agriculture and husbandry. The Government should assume the responsibility for the allotment of such lands and supply the necessary capital for its development and cultivation, with such safeguards as will protect both the Government and the discharged soldier and sailor

Conclusion

No element in our Nation is more vitally concerned with the problems of making for a permanent peace between all nations than the working people. The opportunities now before us are without precedent. It is of paramount importance that labor shall be free and unhampered in shaping the principles and agencies affecting the wage-earners' condition of life and work.

By the light that has been given to it the American Federation of Labor has attracted to its fold over three millions of wage-earners and its sphere of influence and helpfulness is growing by leaps and bounds By having followed safe and sound fundamental principles and policies, founded on freedom, justice, and democracy, the American trade-union movement has achieved successes of an inestimable value to the masses of toilers of our country. By adhering to these principles and policies we can meet all problems of readjustment, however grave in importance and difficult of solution, with a feeling of assurance that our efforts will be rewarded by a still greater success than that achieved in the past

Given the whole-hearted support of all men and women of labor our organized labor movement with its constructive program, its love of freedom, justice, and democracy will prove the most potent factor in protecting, safeguarding, and promoting the general welfare of the great mass of our people during this trying period of reconstruction and all times hereafter.

The American Federation of Labor has attained its present position of dignity and splendid influence because of its adherence to one common cause and purpose; that purpose is to protect the rights and interests of the masses of the workers and to secure for them a better and a brighter day. Let us therefore strive on and on to bring into our organizations the yet unorganized Let us concentrate our efforts to organize all the forces of wage earners. Let the Nation hear the united

demand from the laboring voice. Now is the time for the workers of America to come to the stand of their unions and to organize as thoroughly and completely and compactly as is possible. Let each worker bear in mind the words of Longfellow:

"In the world's broad field of battle,
In the bivouac of Life,
Be not like dumb, driven cattle.
Be a hero in the strife."

Respectfully submitted.

JOHN P. FREY, *Chairman.*
B. M. JEWELL.
JOHN MOORE.
G W. PERKINS.
MATTHEW WOLL, *Secretary.*

THE INTERNATIONAL CHARTER OF LABOR[1]

Under the wage system, the capitalists seek to increase their profit in exploiting the workers by methods which, unless the exploitation is limited by international action of the workers, would lead to the physical, moral and intellectual decay of the workers.

The emancipation of labor can be entirely realized only by the abolition of the capitalist system itself. Meanwhile, the resistance of the organized workers can lessen the evil; thus the worker's health, his family life and the possibility of bettering his education, can be protected in such fashion that he may fulfill his duties as a citizen in the modern democracy. The capitalist form of production produces a competition in the various countries which puts the backward countries in a state of inferiority to the more advanced.

The need of a normal basis for international labor legislation has become doubly urgent as a result of the terrific upset and enormous ravages which the popular forces have suffered because of the war. We regard the present remedy of this

[1] Survey. 41:857. March 15, 1919. (Adopted by the International Trade Union Conference and by the International Socialist Conference meeting at Berne, February, 1919).

situation to be the constitution of a league of nations applying an international labor legislation.

The International Trade Union Conference met at Berne and asks the league of nations to institute and apply an international system fixing the conditions of labor.

The present conference supports the decisions of the Trades Union Conference of Leeds (1917) and Berne (1918), and asks that their essential provisions, already applied in several countries, be applied internationally and be inscribed in the treaty of peace as an international charter of labor, as follows:

(1) The conference considers primary instruction obligatory in all countries; pre-apprenticeship and general industrial training should be established everywhere. Higher schooling should be free and accessible to all, special aptitudes and aspirations not being blocked by the material conditions of life in which the children may be placed.

Children below fifteen shall not be employed in industry.

(2) Children from fifteen to eighteen shall not be employed more than six hours per day, with one and one-half hours rest after four hours of work. For two hours per day both sexes shall take technical continuation courses to be established for them between six in the morning and eight at night.

The employment of children shall be prohibited (a) between eight at night and six in the morning; (b) Sundays and holidays; (c) in unhealthy industries; (d) in underground mines.

(3) Women workers shall have a Saturday half-holiday and shall work only four hours that day; exceptions which are necessary in certain industries being compensated by a half-holiday some other day in the week.

Women workers shall not work at night. Employers shall be forbidden to furnish home work after the regular hours of labor. Women shall not be employed in dangerous industries where it is impossible to create sufficiently healthy conditions, as, for instance, in mines where the handling of harmful matters is injurious to the health of weak constitutions.

The employment of women for four weeks before and six weeks after maternity shall be forbidden.

A system of maternity insurance shall be established in all countries and benefits paid in case of illness. Women's work shall be free and based on the principle of equal pay for equal work.

(4) The hours of labor shall not exceed 8 per day and

44 per week. Night work, after eight at night and before six in the morning shall be forbidden except where the technical nature of the work makes it inevitable.

Where night work is necessary, the pay shall be higher.

(5) The Saturday half-holiday shall be introduced in all countries. The weekly repose shall be of at least 36 hours. When the nature of the work requires Sunday work, the weekly repose shall be arranged during the week. In industries of continuous fire, the work shall be arranged so as to give the workers holidays on alternative Sundays.

(6) To protect health, and as a guarantee against accidents, the hours of labor shall be reduced at least eight hours in very dangerous industries. The use of harmful matters is forbidden wherever they can be replaced. A list of prohibited industrial poisons shall be made ; the use of white phosphorus and white lead in decoration shall be forbidden. A system of automatic coupling shall be applied internationally on the railroads.

All laws and regulations concerning industrial labor shall in principle be applied to home work; the same is true for social insurance.

(7) Work which may poison or injure health shall be excluded from homes.

(8) Food industries, including the manufacture of boxes and sacks to contain food, shall be excluded from homes.

(9) Infectious diseases must be reported in home industries and work forbidden in houses where these diseases are found. Medical inspection shall be established.

Lists of workers employed in home industries shall be drawn up and they shall have salary-books. Committees of representatives of employers and workers shall be formed wherever home industries prevail, and they shall have legal power to fix wages. Such wage-scales shall be posted in the work-places.

Workers shall have the right to organize in all countries. Laws and decrees submitting certain classes of workers to special conditions or depriving them of the right of organization shall be abrogated. Emigrant workers shall have the same rights as native workers, including the right to join unions and to strike. Punishment shall be provided for those who oppose the rights of organization and association.

Foreign workers have the right to the wages and conditions of labor which have been agreed upon between the unions and employers in all branches of industry. Lacking such agree-

ments, they shall have the right to the wages current in the region.

(10) Emigration shall in general be free. Exceptions shall be made in the following cases:

(a) A state may temporarily limit immigration during a period of economic depression in order to protect the native as well as the foreign workers.

(b) Any state may control immigration in the interest of public hygiene and may temporarily forbid it.

(c) States may demand of immigrants that they be able to read and write in their own tongue—this in order to maintain a minimum of popular education and to render possible the application of labor laws in industries employing immigrants.

The contracting states agree to introduce without delay laws forbidding engaging workers by contract to work in other countries, thus putting an end to the abuse of private employment agencies. Such contracts shall be forbidden.

The contracting states agree to prepare statistics of the labor market based upon local reports, mutually exchanging information as often as possible through a central international office. These statistics shall be communicated to the trade unions of each country. No worker shall be expelled from any country for trade union activity; he shall have the right of appealing to the courts against expulsion.

If wages be insufficient to assure a normal life, and if it be impossible for employers and workers to agree, the government shall institute mixed commissions to establish minimum wages.

(11) In order to combat unemployment, the trade union centers of the various countries shall maintain relations and exchange information relative to the demand and supply of labor. A system of insurance against unemployment shall be established in all countries.

(12) All workers shall be insured by the state against industrial accidents. The benefits paid the injured or their dependents shall be fixed according to the laws of the worker's country of origin. Old age and invalidity insurance, and insurance for widows and orphans, shall be established with equal benefits for natives and foreigners.

A foreign worker may, on departure, if he has been victim of an industrial accident, receive a lump sum—if such an agree-

ment has been concluded between the country where he has been working and his country of origin.

(13) A special international code shall be created for the protection of seamen, to be applied in collaboration with the seamen's unions.

(14) The application of these measures shall in each country be confined to labor inspectors. These inspectors shall be chosen among technical, sanitary and economic experts and aided by the workers of both sexes.

The trade unions shall watch over the application of the labor laws. Employers employing more than four workers speaking foreign tongues shall post the labor regulations and other important notices in the respective languages and shall at their own expense teach the language of the country to their employes.

(15) To apply the international labor legislation the contracting states shall create a permanent commission constituted half of delegates of the states which are members of the league of nations and half of delegates of the international federation of labor unions.

This permanent commission shall convoke annually the delegations of the contracting states to perfect the international labor legislation. This conference should be one-half composed of representatives of the organized workers of each country; it shall have power to make resolutions having the force of international law.

The Permanent Commission shall collaborate with the International Labor Office at Bâle and with the International Union of Trade Unions.

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